OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

BEQUEST

OF

HENRY FLOOD, Esq.

TO

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN:

WITH A

DEFENCE

OF THE

ANCIENT HISTORY OF IRELAND.

286 b 22

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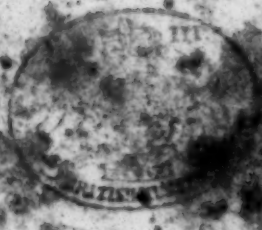
By Sir LAWRENCE PARSONS, Bart.

DUBLIN:

BONHAM, printer.

1795.



COPY

OF THE

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

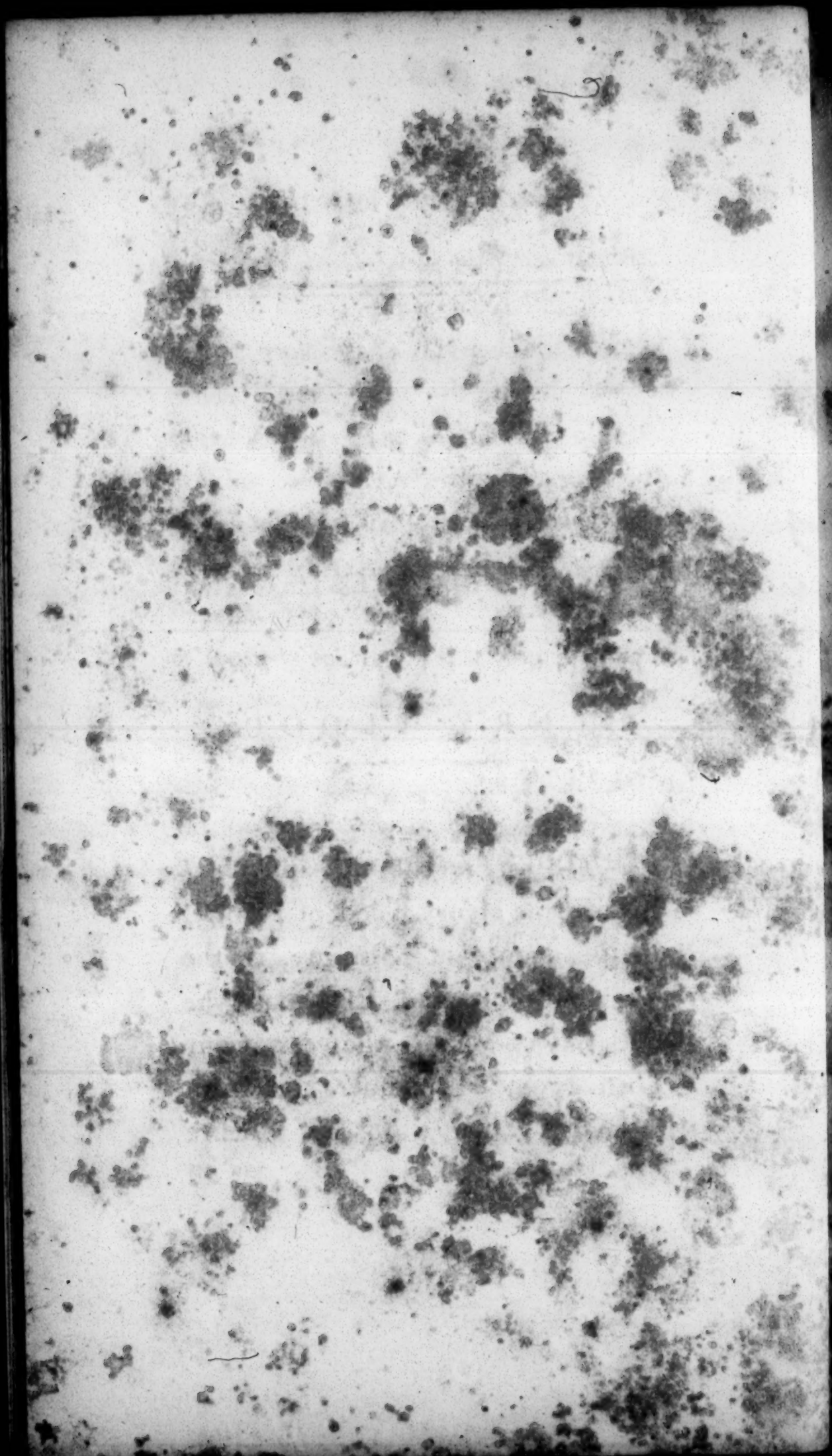
OF

HENRY FLOOD,

OF FARMLY,

IN THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY, Esq.

DATED 27th MAY 1790.



COPY

OF THE

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

OF

HENRY FLOOD, Esq.

"THIS is the last will and testa-
" ment of me Henry Flood, of Farmly,
" in the county of Kilkenny, in the
" kingdom of Ireland, Esq; made the
" 27th day of May, in the year of our
" Lord 1790, in manner and form
" following; that is to say, I desire
" all

" all my juſt debts may in the firſt
" place be fully paid and ſatisfied by
" my executors herein-after named.
" I bequeath one thouſand pounds
" ſterling to Miſs Suſanna Cockburn,
" who now lives with my dear wife
" Lady Frances Flood; and over and
" above the allowance of his yearly
" rent, which I give him for his
" trouble, I bequeath one thouſand
" pounds ſterling to George Huſon,
" of Burnchurch in ſaid county of
" Kilkenny, my old and faithful ſer-
" vant; and two hundred pounds
" ſterling to Patrick Caſhel, my own
" man; I alſo give to ſuch of my
" ſervants as ſhall be living with me
" at the time of my deceaſe one year's
" wages. Item, I bequeath to my
" ſaid dear wife all and every the
" leaſehold and freehold intereſts

" whatſoever

" whatſoever which were given and
" bequeathed to me by my dear uncle
" Charles Flood, late of Ballymack in
" ſaid county of Kilkenny, Eſq; to
" hold the ſame during the term of
" her natural life; and from and after
" her deceaſe I give and bequeath the
" ſame leaſehold and freehold intereſts
" unto Warden Flood, of Paulſtown
" in ſaid county of Kilkenny, Eſq;
" his heirs, executors, adminiſtrators
" and aſſigns, in as full, ample and
" beneficial a manner as they were
" bequeathed to me by the ſaid
" Charles Flood; and I do make, con-
" ſtitute and appoint the ſaid Lady
" Frances Flood, and Ambroſe Smith,
" of Digges-ſtreet, Dublin, Ireland,
" Eſq; to be joint executors of this
" my laſt will and teſtament. And
" I do hereby make it my laſt requeſt

" and

" and earneſt deſire that the ſaid Am-
" broſe Smith will not only act as
" executor to this my laſt will, but
" that he will alſo aſſiſt the ſaid Lady
" Frances Flood with his beſt advice
" and endeavours in the execution of
" this my will, and in the manage-
" ment of the property of all kinds
" herein deviſed to the ſaid Lady
" Frances Flood, during the natural
" life of him the ſaid Ambroſe Smith;
" and in conſideration thereof I give
" and bequeath unto him the ſaid
" Ambroſe Smith one annuity or clear
" yearly ſum of three hundred pounds
" during his natural life, provided the
" life of the ſaid Lady Frances Flood
" and his care and trouble ſhall ſo
" long laſt. And I do further give
" and bequeath unto the ſaid Ambroſe
" Smith, his heirs, executors, admi-

" niſtrators

" niſtrators and aſſigns, all my eſtate
" and intereſt of and in the lands,
" houſes and hereditaments of Maiden
" Hall, near Bennett's-bridge, in the
" ſaid county of Kilkenny, containing
" two hundred acres of ground or
" thereabouts, being a leaſe for lives
" renewable for ever, in as full, am-
" ple and beneficial a manner as they
" were given and bequeathed to
" me in and by the laſt will and
" teſtament of my deceaſed father;
" provided always, and I do hereby
" expreſsly will and declare, that in
" caſe the ſaid Ambroſe Smith refuſe
" or ceaſe and decline to act in exe-
" cution of this my laſt will and
" teſtament as aforeſaid, then my will
" and intention is that the ſaid be-
" queſt herein before made unto the
" ſaid Ambroſe Smith, both of the

" ſaid

" ſaid annuity or clear yearly ſum of
" three hundred pounds ſterling, and
" alſo the eſtate and intereſt of and
" in the ſaid lands and hereditaments
" of Maiden Hall aforeſaid, ſhall be
" null and void and of no effect, but
" that the ſame ſhall ſink and fall into
" the reſidue of my eſtate, and be
" taken by my reſiduary legatee here-
" in-after named, as fully and effec-
" tually as if the ſame had not been
" herein-before bequeathed to the ſaid
" Ambroſe Smith. I do further give
" and bequeath to my dear wife, the
" ſaid Lady Frances Flood, to hold
" during her life, all the lands, houſes,
" hereditaments and eſtates whatſo-
" ever lying and being in the ſaid
" county of Kilkenny, and in the city
" of Kilkenny and liberties thereof,
" and pariſh of Saint Canice, viz. all

" which

" which were ſettled on me upon my
" marriage with the ſaid Lady Frances
" Flood, and referring for greater ex-
" actneſs to my ſaid marriage ſettle-
" ment; and after the death of my
" ſaid wife I give and bequeath all
" ſaid lands, houſes, hereditaments,
" and eſtates, ſo ſettled on me upon
" my ſaid marriage, to the Univerſity
" of Ireland, commonly called Trinity
" College, Dublin, by whatſoever ſtile
" and under whatſoever title it is
" moſt properly and legally charac-
" terized and diſtinguiſhed, to hold
" in fee and for ever for the purpoſes
" herein-after mentioned; that is to
" ſay, I will and direct that on their
" coming into poſſeſſion of this my
" bequeſt, on the death of my ſaid
" wife, they do inſtitute and main-
" tain, as a perpetual eſtabliſhment,
" a pro-

" a profeſſorſhip of and for the native
" Iriſh or Erſe Language, and that
" they do appoint, if he ſhall be then
" living, Colonel Charles Vallancey to
" be the firſt profeſſor thereof, with a
" ſalary of not leſs than three hun-
" dred pounds ſterling a year, ſeeing
" that by his eminent and ſucceſsful
" labours in the ſtudy and recovery
" of that language he well deſerves to
" be ſo firſt appointed. And I will
" and appoint that they do grant one
" annual and liberal premium for the
" beſt and another for the next beſt
" compoſition in proſe or verſe in the
" ſaid native Iriſh or Erſe Language,
" upon ſome point of ancient hiſtory,
" government, religion, literature or
" ſituation of Ireland; and alſo one
" other annual and liberal premium,
" one for the beſt and another for the

" next

" next beſt compoſition in Greek or
" Latin proſe or verſe on any general
" ſubject by them aſſigned; and one
" other annual and liberal premium,
" one for the beſt and another for the
" next beſt compoſition in Engliſh
" proſe or verſe, in commemoration
" of ſome one of thoſe great cha-
" racters, either of ancient or modern
" nations, who have been eminently
" ſerviceable and honourable to their
" country, ſeeing that nothing ſtimu-
" lates to great deeds more ſtrongly
" than great examples; and I will
" that the rents and profits of my
" ſaid lands, houſes, hereditaments
" and eſtates ſhall be further applied
" by the ſaid Univerſity to the pur-
" chaſe of all printed books and ma-
" nuſcripts in the ſaid native Iriſh or
" Erſe Language, whereſoever to be
" obtained,

" obtained, and next to the purchaſe
" of all printed books and manu-
" ſcripts of the dialects and languages
" that are akin to the ſaid native
" Iriſh or Erſe Language, and then to
" the purchaſe of all valuable books
" and editions of books in the learned
" and in the modern poliſhed lan-
" guages; and if the ſaid Univerſity,
" not complying with this my will,
" in which caſe I declare the ſaid
" bequeſt to the ſaid Univerſity to be
" null and void, or if by any other
" cauſe this bequeſt to the Univerſity
" ſhall not take effect, then it is my
" expreſs will and deſire that, after the
" deceaſe of my ſaid wife, all the ſaid
" lands, houſes, hereditaments and
" eſtates, ſo ſettled on my marriage as
" aforeſaid, ſhall go and ſtand be-
" queathed in manner following, that

" in

" is to ſay, in that caſe I give
" and bequeath unto ſaid Ambroſe
" Smith, his heirs, executors, admi-
" niſtrators and aſſigns, to hold in fee
" and for ever, after the death of my
" ſaid wife, all that and thoſe the
" lands, houſes, hereditaments and
" eſtates, ſo ſettled as aforeſaid on
" me upon my ſaid marriage, and
" lying and being within the city
" or county of the city of Kilkenny,
" and the liberties thereof, and pa-
" riſh of St. Canice, over and above
" what I herein before bequeathed to
" him. And I give and bequeath,
" after the death of my ſaid wife,
" unto my couſin Hatton Flood, one
" of the ſons of my late uncle Francis
" Flood, of Paulſtown in the ſaid
" county of Kilkenny, Eſq; all that and
" thoſe the houſe, demeſne, houſes,
" lands, hereditaments and eſtates, ſo

" ſettled on me on my ſaid marriage
" as aforeſaid, and lying and being in
" the county of Kilkenny aforeſaid,
" to hold to him and his heirs, execu-
" tors, adminiſtrators and aſſigns in
" fee and for ever. Laſtly, I do here-
" by revoke all former will or wills
" by me at any time heretofore made,
" and do make and appoint the ſaid
" Lady Frances Flood my reſiduary
" legatee of and to all my real and
" perſonal eſtate and effects whatſoever
" and whereſoever.

HENRY FLOOD. (Seal.)

" Signed, ſealed and delivered by the
" ſaid Henry Flood as and for his
" laſt will and teſtament in the
" preſence of us, who in his pre-
" ſence, and at his requeſt, and in
" the

" the preſence of each other, have
" ſubſcribed our names as wit-
" neſſes hereto,

" RD. MOUNTNEY JEPHSON,

" EDMOND MALONE,

" JOHN JEPHSON."

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

BEQUEST

OF

HENRY FLOOD, Esq.

TO

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

BEQUEST

OF

HENRY FLOOD, Esq.

TO

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

AS the bequeſt of the late Mr. Flood to Trinity College, Dublin, has been much miſunderſtood and miſrepreſented, I have been induced to lay it before the public, with ſome explanatory obſervations. Not meaning, however, at all to touch upon any

any of thoſe queſtions reſpecting it, which are now pending before the courts of law, but merely to vindicate his poſthumous fame from the aſperſions of the ignorant and diſingenuous.

It has been ſaid moſt untruly, and believed moſt abſurdly, that it was Mr. Flood's deſign, in his legacy to the College of Dublin, to bring the Iriſh language again into general uſe in this country. But his will ſhews, that his only object was to have it ſtudied by ſome men of letters; there being many curious and valuable records in that language, which would throw a conſiderable light upon a very early era in the hiſtory of the human race, as well as relieve this country from the moſt unjuſt charges

of

of ignorance and barbariſm, at a time when it was by far more enlightened and civilized than any of the adjacent nations.

Mr. Flood, therefore, in his bequeſt, deſired that all the manuſcripts in the Iriſh language which could be obtained ſhould be purchaſed, and depoſited in the library of Dublin College. Probably many of them are now mouldering in public and private collections on the continent, whither the ancient families of Ireland conveyed them in troubled times. Many of them in the reign of Queen Elizabeth were in Denmark; which induced the King of Denmark to apply to her by his ambaſſador to ſend over ſome learned man from this country to tranſlate them, and one actually

actually was engaged for that purpoſe: the Engliſh council, however, in the illiberal ſpirit of thoſe times, prevented it, leſt, as they ſaid, it might be prejudicial to the Engliſh intereſt. Many of the Iriſh manuſcripts were lately in libraries in France, ſome alſo in the Vatican; and if diligent ſearch were made, and large prices offered, probably many more might now be ſaved from the depredations of time, and which will otherwiſe very ſoon be loſt irretrievably. Mr. Lhuyd, the great antiquarian of Wales, prizes eſpecially the books of the Iriſh laws, as likely to throw a great light on the cuſtoms and manners of early times. Yet were there many books of theſe laws extant even in the laſt century, the names only of which are known at preſent. It is time to ſave what remain.

I know

I know that ſome writers of reputation may be quoted, who have treated our ancient Iriſh hiſtories as mere fictions. But theſe authors were utterly unacquainted with them: they were ignorant of the language in which they were written, and had no opportunity of knowing them by tranſlation. They ſay that they were the fabrications of monks in the early ages of Chriſtianity. Now, however Ireland has been diſparaged in other reſpects, this merit at leaſt has never been denied to it, of having in thoſe early ages the moſt learned and devout eccleſiaſtics of any country in Europe; ſo much ſo, that it received every where the title of the Iſland of Saints: and a multitude of the moſt unqueſtionable authorities, well known to the learned, might be adduced in confirmation

confirmation of this*. To ſuppoſe then that theſe pious men, who have written annals of the early hiſtory of Ireland, ſhould, in various parts of the iſland, and at various and diſtant periods, all agree to palm upon the world a groſs impoſture of their own fancies, as a true hiſtory, is very improbable. Certainly many hiſtories of the ancient Iriſh were compoſed by the

* Thus Camden deſcribes them in the age immediately after St. Patrick. Et ejus [Patricii] diſcipuli tantos progreſſus in re chriſtiana fecerunt, ut ſubſequenti ætate Scoticis monachis nihil ſanctius, nihil eruditius fuerit, et in univerſam Europam ſanctiſſimorum virorum examina emiſerint. And thus Selden: "The Iriſh, a people "antiently, (according to the name of the *Holy* "*Iſland*† given to Ireland) much devoted to, and "by the Engliſh much reſpected for their holi- "neſs and learning."

Notes on *Drayton's Polyolb.*

† Feſto Avieno inſula ſacra dicta Hibernia.

the eccleſiaſtics of this country in the early ages of Chriſtianity. But it was from the pagan traditions and records that they derived their information: and what proves the fidelity with which they adhered to theſe, is, that they frequently mention the great and miraculous powers ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed by the Druids or Pagan prieſts; which nothing could have induced Chriſtian divines to do, but a ſcrupulous adherence to the old records and traditions. And here I muſt obſerve a ſtriking difference between the fabulous parts of the early hiſtory of Ireland and the early hiſtories of other countries: it is this; the fictions of the Iriſh hiſtory principally conſiſt in aſcribing natural phænomena to ſupernatural agents. Thus at the landing of the colony from

from Spain, they ſuppoſe that the fog, which was caſt over the ſhore, was produced by the ſpells of the Iriſh magicians. They aſcribe the ſtorm, which was raiſed, and which ſcattered and deſtroyed many of their ſhips, to the ſame necromantic influence; and, therefore, though the Iriſh ſtory, like that of all other nations, does in its infancy give credit to fictions, yet they are of all others, that I have read, the fictions that pay the greateſt reſpect to fact, and that leaſt impeach the hiſtorian's truth. There certainly were many hiſtorical works written by the primitive Chriſtians, and many of them are yet extant, but there are alſo many other Iriſh compoſitions of much greater antiquity. All have not yet periſhed, though great numbers have been deſtroyed by

by accident and by deſign. Saint Patrick burnt at once two hundred of the ſacred books of the Druids. He likewiſe aſſiſted in correcting the annals of the nation: He was one of nine men appointed by a general convocation for that purpoſe. It is poſſible, that here ſome paſſages were altered to make the Moſaic and Iriſh accounts more preciſely correſpond; but ſtill the coincidence between them is that of cotemporary hiſtorians relating the ſame event, and each accompanying it with the different circumſtances that appeared to him moſt worthy of recording; but not that coincidence which ariſes from one hiſtorian copying from the writings of another. The account too of the Iriſh annaliſts, in thoſe circumſtances of the relation, which are omitted

omitted in the Jewiſh, or which ſeem to differ from it, is ſo confirmed by other evidences, internal and foreign, that it is impoſſible, that theſe parts of the hiſtory could have been altogether an interpolation by Saint Patrick and the other primitive Chriſtians of the iſland; for they could not have had ſufficient learning, even if they were capable of the fraud, for the fabrication of ſuch an impoſture. To have accompliſhed it, they muſt have been well acquainted with the Chaldean language, which no man ſuppoſes; they muſt have been well acquainted with the writings of Rabbis antecedent to Chriſt, which no man can ſuppoſe; becauſe theſe wonderfully accord with and confirm thoſe circumſtances in the Iriſh relation, which are not to be found in the

the Moſaic. What then muſt we conclude? but that theſe accounts were taken from the genuine records and traditions of the Iriſh nation, handed down from age to age; for the early Chriſtians had no other ſources whence they could have drawn them.

The account which the Iriſh annals give is briefly as follows: That a colony from Scythia ſettled in Egypt; that from this a colony ſettled on the weſtern coaſt of Spain; and thence a colony emigrated and ſettled in Ireland. Is there any thing improbable in this? Muſt not the Iriſh have been a colony from ſome country, and why not from Spain; for, if you look at the map, you will ſee, that a veſſel ſailing northward from the weſt of Spain would fall in

directly upon Ireland? That there were inhabitants in Ireland before the Spaniſh colony I do not deny. Nay the Iriſh annals ſay ſo. But before the arrival of the Spaniards all was mere tradition. Letters were not known. Still, however, the hiſtories of the people inhabiting this iſland antecedent to the Spaniſh ſettlement here are not to be altogether ſlighted; for the Spaniards took their accounts from the traditions of the people they found here. They could have no pride or intereſt in magnifying or depreciating them; nor is there any thing improbable in the deſcription they give of them. They ſay that they were an innocent, unarmed, unlettered nation, whom they eaſily ſubdued. There is indeed a ſimplicity in the whole relation, which the Iriſh writers

writers give of the arrival of the Spaniards here, that commands belief, and muſt with every candid reader gain them much reputation for hiſtoric fidelity. Their account, therefore, we may ſuppoſe to be at leaſt ſo far true, that it faithfully relates what the people, whom they found here, told them of their hiſtory; and we may receive it with that kind of credit with which we do the accounts that Spaniſh writers give of the antient ſtate of Peru and Mexico. But the profound antiquity of the Iriſh records is the reaſon that they are ſo valuable. The anceſtors of the Iriſh were Scythians, or, to uſe their more modern name, Phœnicians; for I ſhall hereafter ſhew that they came from the northern part of Phœnicia, which was originally called Scythia,

and that Phœnicia was a name of later impoſition: they, therefore, ſometimes call their anceſtors by the one appellation, ſometimes by the other. The Phœnicians were certainly among the firſt people, that we have any record of, who knew the uſe of letters. The Greeks, the Romans, the Carthaginians, and even perhaps the Egyptians, received their alphabets from them. But the antient alphabet before the ſiege of Troy conſiſted of but ſixteen letters; the Iriſh alphabet at this day conſiſts of but ſeventeen; which is a very ſtrong proof that theſe letters were tranſmitted by a colony which emigrated at a very early period, and not introduced here through the medium of Greece or Rome at any time ſubſequent to the Trojan war. But how can you ſuppoſe that the Iriſh could

could have got an alphabet more eaſily or more agreeably to hiſtory, than, as their own records ſay, by ſuppoſing them to be deſcended from Phœnicians, and bringing it from Phœnicia; the country which was the very cradle of letters *? Does any man ſuppoſe that the Iriſh invented an alphabet for themſelves? If he does, he muſt allow them the higheſt degree of ingenuity, together with a very antient and continued ſtate of civility; for the invention of an alphabet is a moſt wonderful, and muſt be a moſt ſlow, achievement of human genius: what even the great, and wiſe, and antient nation of the Chineſe cannot be ſaid yet to have accompliſhed.

To

* Phœnices primi, famæ ſi creditur, auſi
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.
Lucan. l. 3.

To ſuppoſe, therefore, that the alphabet of the Iriſh was an invention of their own, is to give them much more credit than they ever claimed; and if you do not ſuppoſe this, you can ſuppoſe nothing ſo probable as their own ſtory.

That the Carthaginians were a Phœnician colony is very well known, and that they were ſettled in Africa at a very early period. If then the Iriſh account be true, we muſt ſuppoſe the Carthaginian and Iriſh languages the ſame, allowing for thoſe differences of times and faſhions, which make gradual changes in all languages: and of this a very curious proof is extant. In one of the plays of Plautus * there are

* *Pœnulus.*

are ſome ſpeeches in the Carthaginian language, ſpoken by Hanno a Carthaginian, which had long baffled the erudition of the learned world. Now, theſe ſpeeches have been lately found to be the ſame language as the Iriſh, and are intelligible to the Iriſh ſcholar. Could there be poſſibly ſuppoſed a more deciſive confirmation of the Phœnician extraction of the Iriſh, and conſequently of the truth and antiquity of the annals which have recorded it?

It is often aſked, if Ireland was ſo early inhabited by a lettered and civilized people, as the Iriſh hiſtorians aſſert, why are there not now to be ſeen ſome ſtupendous remains of its antient magnificence? Why are there no majeſtic ruins of palaces and temples, as in Greece and Aſia? Theſe queſtions

queſtions ariſe from a great miſconception of the ſtate of improvement in arts and ſciences in Ireland, as repreſented by its antient annaliſts. A country may have been in a very civilized ſtate, without having attained any perfection in thoſe arts, which bequeath to future ages ſuch memorials as are here demanded. The antient Iriſh were a civilized people, yet arts and ſciences among them were but of infant growth. They cultivated Muſic and Poetry much; and arrived at ſuch perfection in the former, that Giraldus Cambrenſis*, who came over here with Henry the Second, and who was one of the moſt licentious defamers of the Iriſh people that ever wrote, and therefore the beſt authority

* See Vallancey's Collect. vol. ii.

thority when he ſpeaks in their favour, ſays, that in muſic they far excelled all the other nations of his time*. And

* In muſicis ſolum inſtrumentis commendabilem invenio gentis iſtius diligentiam, in quibus præ omni natione quam vidimus incomparabiliter inſtructæ.

Gir. Cambrenſis, c. 19. *Hiſt.* Alſo *Polyd. Virgil.*

In deliciis habent a laboribus vacare : agriculturam cæteraſque artes non magnopere exercent, præter muſicam, cujus peritiſſimi ſunt ; canunt enim cum voce, tum fidibus eleganter, ſed vehementi quodam impetu, ſic, ut mirabile ſit, in tanta vocis linguæque atque digitorum velocitate, poſſe artis numeros ſervari, id quod illi ad unguem faciunt.

Polyd. Virgil, l. 13.

Even ſo late as the eleventh century, ſays Mr. Warton*, the practice continued among the Welſh bards, of receiving inſtructions in the bardic profeſſion from Ireland. The Welſh bards were reformed and regulated by Griffith ap Conan, king

* Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, Diſſert. 1.

And the beauties of their poetry are noticed by Spencer, who muſt be allowed to have been a good judge of poetic merits. A nation excelling then ſo eminently in theſe two arts, could not be very ignorant of ſuch others as were neceſſary to a civilized ſtate of ſociety*. They knew ſomething of

king of Wales, in the year 1078. At the ſame time he brought over with him from Ireland many Iriſh bards, for the information and improvement of the Welſh†. Powell acquaints us, that this prince "brought over with him from Ireland di-"vers cunning muſicians into Wales, who de-"viſed in a manner *all the inſtrumental muſic that* "*is now there uſed:* as appeareth as well by the "books written of the ſame, as alſo by the names "of the tunes and meaſures uſed among them "to this daie‡."

* Omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum; et quaſi cognatione quâdam inter ſe continentur.

Cicero.

† Selden, Drayt. Polyolb. ſ. 9. p. 156. ſ. 4. p. 67. edit. 1613.

‡ Hiſt. of Camb. p. 191. edit. 1584.

of aſtronomy and navigation, as ſome of their laws teſtify; and of architecture, as appears by the round towers now extant. They had not yet, however, attained to the Iron age; but were in that æra of ſociety when the artiſts diſplayed their ſkill only in works of braſs and of gold, and in theſe they were certainly very ingenious. Every year a number of the implements of war, and ornaments of dreſs, formed of thoſe metals, highly and beautifully finiſhed, are diſcovered deep under the bogs, which have grown over the face of this neglected country*. But what is very remarkable,

* The great perfection to which all works of this kind have now attained, makes common obſervers view thoſe of the ancient Iriſh very ſlightingly. They are not aware of the ſlow progreſs with which a ſociety advances in theſe arts—Voilà donc

able, and what ſtill further confirms the hiſtories of the antient Iriſh, which repreſent them to have been, like the Carthaginians, originally a Phœnician colony, is, that the brazen ſwords, which are now found in Ireland, exactly reſemble in ſhape and fabrication thoſe which have been found at Cannæ, ſome of which are to be ſeen in the Britiſh Muſæum, and are ſuppoſed to have been thoſe which were uſed by the Carthaginians when they fought under Hannibal*. The ſwords and ſpears, which are found in Ireland, are much ſtronger and heavier than common

donc les mines découvertes, et la maniere de fondre, de purifier, et de travailler les métaux, pratiquée. Mais il n'y a que ceux qui connoiſſent le détail de ces travaux qui ſachent combien l'invention en ſuppoſe de tems, et combien ici l'induſtrie des hommes marche lentement.

Encyclopédie.

* Vallancey's Collect.

common braſs, and are ſaid to contain a mixture of tin: the ornaments of dreſs are many of them of gold, and moſt delicately wrought; and what proves their great antiquity is, that they have no reſemblance, not only to any thing now in uſe, but to any thing diſcovered in any of the adjacent countries. Some of the trumpets and other muſical inſtruments are alſo of very curious and peculiar ſhape: as are alſo the golden crowns and breaſt-plates. Indeed the uſe that many of them were intended for is at this day little more than conjectured; ſo diſſimilar are they to any thing elſe now extant, and ſo profound the antiquity of their faſhion and their origin.

Beſides

Beſides theſe unequivocal proofs of the progreſs of the Iriſh in the arts, there are many round towers now ſtanding, of an antiquity much more remote than the introduction of Chriſtianity into this kingdom; and of excellent maſonry, ſingular conſtruction, and great altitude; neither are there any buildings that reſemble them in the neighbouring countries, except two in that part of Scotland, which, it is univerſally admitted, was peopled from Ireland. There are alſo many mines, which appear to have been wrought at a moſt remote period; one of which deſerves particularly to be mentioned. It is a coal-mine in Antrim. It was opened a few years years ago, and though there was no tradition of its ever having been worked before, when the miners had

had penetrated to a conſiderable diſtance into it, they diſcovered its old excavations, where it had been formerly wrought, and which bore every teſtimony of a great antiquity; eſpecially the ſtalactitical pillars, which were of ſuch a ſize and duridity as proved that many centuries muſt have been conſumed in generating them. In it were alſo found the antient mining implements, not inferior to thoſe of modern times; and every circumſtance evinced, that the artiſts, who wrought it, were at leaſt as expert as thoſe of the preſent day *. Now the ſkill with which all this was done proves, that ſuch operations were common. It proves more; that there was a time when Ireland was neither overrun

* Hamilton's Antrim.

run with woods or with bogs; nay, when there was ſuch a ſcarcity of both, that its inhabitants were forced to dig into the bowels of the earth for fuel. It is now indeed univerſally admitted, that where thoſe immenſe bogs extend at preſent, there once were cultivated plains; proofs of which are diſcovered every day by the peaſants, who work at them: and even the tops of our lofty mountains, which are now waſte, have the furrowed atteſtations of the huſbandman's labour in former ages. Does not all this demonſtrate that the accounts of the antient population of this country were not exaggerated?

But the moſt powerful and indiſputable teſtimony of the civility of antient Ireland, and the truth of its annaliſts,

annaliſts, is to be found in the antient writings themſelves, which bear in their own boſoms the infallible evidences of their authenticity, and of the meliorated manners of the people. The ſimplicity of their cuſtoms and habits, as they are there deſcribed; the regularity and circumſtantialneſs with which they are detailed; the diverſity of their writings, compoſed at various ages, concording with and confirming each other; the books of poetry agreeing with the books of hiſtory; and the books of law with both; and all correſponding in the ſame repreſentation of the ſame ſtate of ſociety and manners, are ſuch intrinſic teſtimonies of their genuineneſs and truth, as nothing but the moſt immoveable ſcepticiſm can reſiſt, and nothing but the moſt vulgar prejudice or ſtupid

incuriosity can fail to admire. These, then, are all undeniable memorials of the antient civilization of Ireland, though a Balbec or a Palmyra is not to be found among our forests. These all prove that at a time, when no adjacent nation appears from any remains to have emerged from barbarism, the arts had here attained a considerable proficiency.

Why then do we not meet with some account of the Irish in the antient histories of Greece and Rome? —This is a common interrogation. These histories being early impressed upon the mind, in the present system of education, as the most important, those who are not addicted to study have scarcely a notion of there existing a cotemporary people unrecorded by

by the Greek and Latin writers. And had our annals deſcribed the Iriſh as making a ſplendid figure in Europe in thoſe times, that no ſuch notice had been taken of them, would be a deciſive proof againſt their veracity. But the Iriſh annals repreſent the people as living retired in their iſland, in a ſtate of primitive ſociety; having no wars, except among themſelves, or with the neighbouring iſland, or ſometimes with the northern parts of Gaul; all little known, or noticed in the time of ancient Greece or Rome. And it is this very ſtate of ſequeſtration, in which they lived, that renders their hiſtory ſo curious and ſo intereſting at this day; becauſe it is ſo ſingular; becauſe it repreſents ſociety in ſo primitive a ſtate; becauſe it repreſents a populous nation in ſuch

ſimple habits; living ſo for ſuch a long ſucceſſion of ages; preſerving their antient cuſtoms and manners, unmixed with thoſe of the other nations of Europe. It preſents human nature in a new point of view, and acting on a different theatre from the reſt of mankind. It gives the moſt exact picture of antient manners and tranſactions, becauſe the Iriſh happened to be ſo early acquainted with letters; the want of which made the diſcovery of Mexico and Peru ſo little inſtructing. For there little more was preſented than the ſtate of thoſe countries at the day of their diſcovery: nothing but one view: no ſucceſſion of events. But the Iriſh manuſcripts give a view of a people who were in a much more advanced ſtate of ſociety, three thouſand years ago, than the Peruvians

and

and Mexicans, when the Europeans firſt invaded them. They give their laws, in which we ſhall find their cuſtoms: the dreſs that they wore, for there were ſumptuary laws regulating it: the food that they eat, for even the bills of fare at the royal tables were preſcribed by their ordinances: the manner in which they fought, for it was the frequent and ſplendid theme of their bards: while the ornaments of dreſs and the weapons of war, which are now frequently found in this country, beautifully illuſtrate and confirm theſe deſcriptions: nay even the wills of their princes, with the legacies they left; their embroidered mantles; their gold claſps and rings, and all the ſimple treaſures of thoſe times. The novelty of ſuch antientneſs, the arts of ſuch ſimplicity, the

grandeurs

grandeurs of ſuch a lowly age, how grateful to the curious mind! What a new and intereſting picture muſt all this diſplay! Where is there any thing ſimilar to it in the writings of the whole world? Who would not wiſh to ſee the mediums of ſuch knowledge collected and tranſlated? To walk hand in hand with theſe lettered Scythians to the ſhores of the Mediterranean—to ſail with them in their little barks—to viſit Egypt, and Pharaoh, and the Iſraelites—to ſettle upon the banks of the Red Sea—to depart from thence and view Greece, that was afterwards to be the queen of ſcience and of arts, then in a rude and unlettered ſtate—to float from thence down the waves of the Mediterranean, paſs through the pillars of Hercules, and ſettle upon the weſtern

ſhores

ſhores of Spain—to take the adventurous voyage with Ith to the Hyperborean iſland, which long before by the prophet Caircer had been foretold as the laſt place of their deſtination—And then with Heber and Heremon to brave the ſpells of the Danaan magicians, their miſts, and their ſtorms, and ſee the hardy adventurers finally eſtabliſh themſelves upon this iſle, here to remain in all their ſimple and primitive ſtate of manners for two thouſand years, uninterrupted themſelves, and uninterrupting the repoſe of others.

Often did Mr. Flood remark to me, that while in the Eaſt ingenious men were collecting and tranſlating, with ſuch laudable induſtry, the antient writings of the inhabitants of that region

region between Indus and the Ganges, the valuable memorials of our own iſland were neglected and periſhing. He thought that many of the truths of antient hiſtory were to be found at theſe two extremities of the lettered world; that they would reflect light and knowledge upon each other, and lead to a more certain acquaintance with the early hiſtory of man. His great mind was wont to combine the moſt diſtant things; to bring the Eaſt and the Weſt into a juxta-poſition, and by the compariſon of theſe extremes to examine the immutable coincidences of truth.

If any one fancies that the neighbouring nations—that the inhabitants of Britain and Gaul, &c. were in as high a ſtate of civilization antiently as

as the Iriſh, or more ſo;—I ſay, it may be ſo; but where are the proofs? Where are the antient writings of theſe countries? Where in them are now found the antient implements of war—the antient ornaments of dreſs, beſpeaking from their material and workmanſhip a moſt high antiquity, and a great advancement in the arts? Even in buildings, where in them are to be ſeen any edifices ſo antient, and of ſuch excellent workmanſhip, as the round towers of Ireland? Theſe, though they rear their uncovered heads high into the ſtorm, remain almoſt perfect at this day without care or reparation. But the principal conſideration is not now, whether the neighbouring counties were antiently in ſuch a ſtate of civilization or not; for ſince they have no memorials now extant, the enquiry is

of

of little worth. For even if you could prove that a country had been in a ſtate of civility at any former period, yet if you could get no trace or record of what that ſtate of civility was, of what avail could the barren knowledge of the fact be? Some ſhallow-minded men, who only judge from appearances before their eyes, obſerving the great diſparity between Ireland and Britain now, think that this diſparity muſt have exiſted at all times, and that Britain in all ages muſt have maintained her pre-eminence. It is not my object to diſparage Britain. I admire and honour her proſperity and power. I only wiſh to do juſtice to Ireland. Each country has had its aſcendency; and England in her pre-eminence and glory now, may, without much humiliation, acknowledge that

that there was a time when ſhe was in a rude ſtate; and that Ireland, at that time, enjoyed the elements of civility. We are not to judge from preſent appearances. How many kingdoms, once great, that now are deſarts? How many kingdoms, now great, that muſt be deſarts in their turn? Was it not for this ſingle art of architecture, how difficult would it be to find a veſtige of antient grandeur in paſſing over ſome of the countries that were once the moſt ſplendid upon earth? And is the proof of the antient civilization of a country to be eſtabliſhed only by the teſtimonies of a ſingle art? And becauſe Ireland cannot ſhew the remains of porticos, and temples, and colonnades, and amphitheatres, and aqueducts, and pyramids, are all its antient annals at once to be pronounced

nounced fictions and impoſtures?—There never was a more unreaſonable and unjuſt ſentence. Ireland had been long exhauſted by foreign wars. Ireland had been frequently pillaged and laid waſte by the Danes. It was long in a ſtate of decline antecedent to the arrival of Henry II. In the time of Alfred, however, it appears from the repreſentation of the venerable Bede, an hiſtorian of the moſt unblemiſhed authority, and the higheſt certainly in ſpeaking of the ſtate of things in his own time, that the people of Ireland were diſtinguiſhed for their learning and liberality. Profeſſors alſo were frequently brought from Ireland to the Continent, when any prince wiſhed to introduce among his people a knowledge of letters. Thus Charlemagne, when he founded the univerſities of

Paris

Paris and Pavia, appointed two Iriſh-men to preſide over them: and Fleury praiſes Charles the Bald for inviting learned men from various countries, but eſpecially from Ireland, to diffuſe a knowledge of letters among his ſubjects. But all arguments from the comparative ſtate of improvement of two countries at one period, are of little weight, as to the comparative ſtate of improvement at another remote one. Such kind of arguments muſt be admitted when you cannot have any facts or memorials to decide by, becauſe then you have nothing better: but when you can have any thing better it is great weakneſs of judgment to reſort to them; ſo much ſo that I ſhould be aſhamed to touch upon ſuch a topic, did I not hear it

ſo

ſo frequently from almoſt every man's tongue.

There is nothing novel in crediting the great antiquity of the Iriſh nation. Some very high authorities of Greece and Rome atteſt it. The antient Engliſh and Spaniſh hiſtories atteſt it. But there is one inſtance in which it was admitted on ſo ſolemn an occaſion, that I muſt relate it particularly.

At the council of Conſtance, A. D. 1417, a diſpute ariſing between the French and Engliſh about precedency, the Engliſh canoniſts urged, " that " the world being divided into three " parts, Europe, Aſia and Africa, Eu- " rope was diſtributed into four king- " doms; namely, firſt the Roman, " ſecond

" ſecond the Conſtantinopolitan, third " the Iriſh, which is now transferred " to the Engliſh, and fourth the Spa- " niſh. From which it is plain, that " the King of England and his king- " dom are among the moſt eminent " and moſt antient of the kings and " kingdoms of Europe*." And in conſequence of this plea England was declared the fifth nation in the council.

Here,

* Satis etiam conſtat ſecundum ſanctum Albertum magnum, et Bartholomæum de proprietatibus rerum, quod toto mundo in tres partes diviſo, videlicet Aſiam, Africam, et Europam, Europa in quatuor dividitur regna; primum videlicet Romanum, ſecundum Conſtantinopolitanum, tertium regnum Hiberniæ, quod jam tranſlatum eſt in Anglicos, et quartum regnum Hiſpaniæ. Ex quo patet, quod rex Angliæ et regnum ſuum ſunt de eminentioribus et antiquioribus regibus et regnis totius Europæ; quam prærogativam regnum Franciæ non fertur obtinere. *Concilium Conſtanſienſe*, A. D. 1417. Seſs. 31.

Here, at a moſt ſolemn convention; after a deliberate inveſtigation, by the moſt learned men of the times; in a caſe where the rank and precedence of kingdoms were at iſſue; the great antiquity of the *Iriſh* monarchy was ſtated and pleaded by *Engliſhmen*, as ſurpaſſing that of England and of France, and almoſt every other European nation. Yet we often hear men now, vain of their own uninformed fancies, treating as extravagant and abſurd, whatever is ſaid of the antiquity of this nation, and ſpeaking of it as a weak whim in Mr. Flood to give any credence to it.

But Mr. Flood's authority alone ought to impreſs upon theſe manuſcripts a deep ſtamp of credit and eſtimation. He was certainly one of the

the greateſt men that ever adorned this country. His mind was the moſt capacious; his reaſon the moſt athletic; his judgment the moſt balanced; his erudition the moſt profound. His nature was too dignified to deceive others; his intellect too piercing to be deceived himſelf. Yet he, in the moſt ſolemn act of his exiſtence, when he was going to leave a great memorial to all poſterity of his unabating patriotiſm, and to make the termination of his life accord with all his actions while living, in which his country was his firſt and paramount object; for the proſperity of which he lived and laboured; and in the ſame ardour for its fame was juſt about to die: he, I ſay, conſecrated with his dying breath theſe venerable records, and embalmed them, and his

own fame together, to all poſterior ages; and thus, by ſuch a conduct, at ſuch a time, when he knew that nothing but truth could throw glory around his declining orb, and when there was an end of every inclination, which could caſt obſcurity upon truth, has given a teſtimony, which ought to ſatisfy uninformed men of the value of theſe antient writings, though uncorroborated by all the high authorities that bear evidence in their ſupport *.

But

* Nor was Mr. Flood ſingular in his opinion on this ſubject; the learned Doctor Johnſon ſtrongly recommended the cultivation of Iriſh literature, as will appear from the following letter to Charles O'Connor, Eſq; author of the Diſſertations on the Hiſtory of Ireland:

" S I R,

" I have lately, by the favour of Mr. Faulkner, " ſeen your account of Ireland, and cannot for-

" bear

But his great bequeſt did not terminate here. He has ordered by his will

" bear to ſolicit a proſecution of your deſign. " Sir William Temple complains that Ireland is leſs " known than any other country, as to its antient " ſtate. The natives have had little leaſure, and " little encouragement, for enquiry; and ſtrangers, not knowing the language, have had no " ability.

" I have long wiſhed that the Iriſh literature " were cultivated. Ireland is known by tradition " to have been once the ſeat of piety and learning; and ſurely it would be very acceptable to " all thoſe who are curious, either in the original " of nations or the affinities of languages, to be " further informed of the revolutions of a people " ſo antient, and once ſo illuſtrious.

" What relation there is between the Welch " and Iriſh languages, or between the language of " Ireland and that of Biſcay, deſerve enquiry. " Of theſe provincial and unextended tongues, it " ſeldom happens that more than one are underſtood by any one man; and, therefore, it ſeldom " happens that a fair compariſon can be made. " I hope you will continue to cultivate this kind

will that, after all the manuſcripts in the Iriſh language that can be purchaſed have been obtained, then thoſe books and manuſcripts in the languages that have an immediate affinity to

" of learning, which has lain too long neglected,
" and which, if it be ſuffered to remain in obli-
" vion for another century, may, perhaps, never
" be retrieved. As I wiſh well to all uſeful
" undertakings, I would not forbear to let you
" know how much you deſerve, in my opinion,
" from all lovers of ſtudy, and how much plea-
" ſure your work has given to,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged,

And moſt humble ſervant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

" London, April 9, 1755."

To this we will add the authority of one of the moſt celebrated philoſophers that any age ever produced, the almoſt incomparable Leibnitz. " Poſ-
" tremo," ſays he, " ad perficiendam, vel certe
" valde promovendam literaturam Celticam, dili-
" gentius linguæ HIBERNICÆ ſtudium adjungen-
" dum cenſeo."

to the Iriſh ſhall be likewiſe purchaſed: thereby ſhewing the great chain of thought that moved through his mind upon this ſubject; and that though the fame of Ireland, as preſerved in theſe antient records, was his primary object, the wide horizon of his intellect embraced the early hiſtory of the whole human race, which he hoped would be illuſtrated by the connection and compariſon of theſe collateral teſtimonies. After this his bequeſt extends to the purchaſe of books in all languages, at the diſcretion of the governors of the Univerſity; thereby inſuring to Ireland in a courſe of time the greateſt library in the world. Of all the ſtupendous works of the Egyptian Ptolemies, none have tranſmitted their memories to poſterity with a more luminous fame than their great library

library at Alexandria. The bequeſt of Mr. Flood is not leſs worthy of renown: it is the ſame in object, and not leſs in extent *. How can a nation be truly great without learned men? And how can men be truly learned without ſuch great repoſitaries of literature to reſort to? If the acts which have moſt ſtigmatized the moſt ſtigmatized barbarians, the Vandals and the Goths, have been the deſtruction of ſuch collections of lettered works, ſurely he who founds and inſtitutes ſuch muſt receive proportionate applauſe from the civilized world? But his great bequeſt, which for wiſdom and magnificence of deſign exceeds any thing of this kind upon record

* The eſtate he bequeathed for this purpoſe is worth five thouſand pounds a year.

record in antient or modern times, goes further ſtill: to uſe his own expiring words, "Seeing that nothing "ſtimulates to great deeds more "ſtrongly than great examples," he orders that the characters of ſome of thoſe great men in antient and modern times, who have been eminently ſerviceable and honourable to their country, ſhould in annual compoſitions be commemorated in our Univerſity: that their exalted actions may ſtand forth and be pourtrayed in living colours before every riſing generation here to the end of time: that their ennobling ſentiments may be poured into the minds of the young, to ſwell their thoughts to high conceptions and illuſtrious deeds: that the wreaths of true honour and of fame may be hung

hung up in their view to excite them to thoſe actions of refined and ſublimated virtue, by which alone they can hope to reach them.

This was the extenſive range of Mr. Flood's bequeſt to the public; having firſt manifeſted in his Will all the wiſe and tender anxieties and cares for thoſe around him, for whom duty and affection taught him to provide; having for theſe, when he was about to retire from the world, provided every means of competency, and ſpread every ſhade of protection which a prudent and liberal mind could ſuggeſt; he then turned his eyes upon Ireland—Ireland, for whoſe proſperity and liberty and glory he had ſo many years ſo illuſtriouſly toiled, and which

was

was now to be cloſed from his view for ever. His great ſpirit, while it was juſt hovering over the tomb, was ſtill buſied about the future fame of his country: It dictated thoſe expiring accents, which direct that the materials of learning, from all parts of the earth, ſhould be from time to time collected and depoſited in the boſom of our Univerſity. Thus founding for his country an everlaſting pyramid of all the accumulated knowledge of man, which ſhould out-top the works of all other nations, and by which every future genius of our iſland might climb to the ſummit of human intelligence, and take his towering flight. Laſtly, to excite to this and to every thing elſe great and worthy, he orders

that

that the moſt exalted examples of the moſt exalted men, that have ever improved and dignified human nature, may be applied to transfuſe their virtues into the expanding boſoms of our youth; that thus, as it were, through the medium of his laſt will, his voice, though dead himſelf, might call continually from the tomb upon the aſpiring offspring of every ſucceeding age to ennoble their minds, and ſpread glory over their country, by their knowledge, their talents, and their virtues.

Thus this great patriot, after having made every poſſible proviſion for the paſt and future fame of Ireland, ſunk into his grave. The impartial judgment of ſubſequent ages will conſider him

him as unrivalled in his own country; and had it been his fortune to have moved upon a theatre as capacious as his own mind, his celebrity would not have been exceeded by any man's in any other.

DEFENCE

OF THE

ANCIENT HISTORY OF IRELAND.

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ANCIENT HISTORY OF IRELAND.

AS the great antiquity of the Iriſh nation does not eaſily receive credit, I ſhall begin with citing the notice that has been taken of Ireland by the moſt antient Greek writers.

The

The firſt, who mentions it, is Orpheus. In his Argonautica, ſpeaking of Jaſon and the Argonauts, he ſays, " then they went by the iſland of " Iernis *.

That

* Αγκαιος δ' οιακα; επιςαμενως ετιταινε· line 1178.
Παρ δ' αρα νησον αμειβεν IEPNIDA. και οι οπισθεν
Ικτο καταϊγδην διοφερη τρομεουσα θυελλα,
Εν δ' οθονας κολπωσε· θεεν δ' αφαρ ὑγρον επ' οιδμα
Νηυς. ὑ δη τις εσαυθις αναπλευσεσθαι ολεθρῳ
Η'λπετο· δωδεκατη γαρ επηϊεν ηριγενεια.
Ουδε τις εγνω ἡσιν ενι φρεσιν ὁπωθ αρ' εσμεν,
Ει μη εσχατιαι; ακαλαρροω ωκεανοιο
Λυγκει; εισενοησαν. ὁ γαρ τηλωπον οπωπε
Νησον πευκηεσσαν, ιδ' ευρεα δωματ' ανασσης
Δημητρος· περι δ' αυτε μεγα νεφος εξεφανωται.

Ορφεως Αργοναυτικα.

Ancæus vero clavos docte gubernavit:
Prætervectuſque eſt inſulam *Hiberniam*; ipſique a tergo
Subſecutus eſt impetuoſe ruens obſcurus vehemens ventus,
Velaque implevit, cucurritque celeriter ſuper tumens mare

Navis;

That by Iernis he meant Ireland, I prove by the authority of Camden *, the great antiquarian of England. Alſo by the authority of the learned archbiſhop Uſher †. Alſo by the au-

F thority

Navis; ſed ne tum quidem quiſquam interitum elapſurum
Se ſperavit (duodecima enim jam tranſiverat aurora)
Neque quiſquam noſtrûm certo ſcivit ubinam ſimus,
Niſi quidem *fines* demum tranquille fluentis oceani
Lynceus cognoviſſet. Hic enim a longinquo detexit
Inſulam quandam piceis refertam, atque ampla templa reginæ
Cereris, quæ ingenti nube circum vallabantur.

* Celeberrima inſula vulgo *Hibernia* dicta, Orpheo, Ariſtoteli, et Claudiano *Ierna*.
Camden's Hibernia.

† Nam qui Iernam noſtram Alexandri magni temporibus ignotam fuiſſe autumant, illud Orphei in Argonauticis non videntur conſideraviſſe παρ δ' αρα νησον αμειϐεν Ιερνιδα, Argonauticorum enim ſcriptorem

thority of Bochart *. Alſo by the authority of Andreas Schottus †. Alſo by the authority of Stephanus. Thus is Ireland mentioned by this Greek, expreſsly by name, long before the name of England is any where to be found in Grecian literature. What follows?

torem Orpheum, non Thracium illum quidem (licet in toto opere perſonam ejus poeta induat) ſed Crotoniatam, Piſiſtrato tyranno familiarem extitiſſe (eaque ratione Cyri, et laxatæ ſub eo Judaicæ captivitatis, tempore claruiſſe) ex Aſclepiadâ Suidas nos docuit: *cujuſmodi antiquitatis ne ipſe quidem populus Romanus nominis ſui teſtem proferre poterit auctorem.*

* De Hibernia hæc Orpheus, vel potius Onomacritus. Παρ δ' αχα νησον αμειβεν Ιερνιδα, nempe edoctus a Phœnicibus, Græcis enim tunc temporis hæc loca erant inacceſſa.

Boc. Geo. Sac. l. i. c. 39.

† Quin et tempeſtatem quam circa Hiberniam inſulam paſſi ſunt Argonautæ, Argo ipſa prædixit.

See his Obſerv. Hum. Lib. ii. c. 20.

follows? That it would not have been the firſt noticed, if it had not been the firſt known.

If it be objected, that Orpheus was not the author of this poem; I anſwer, ſtill it is a poem of very great antiquity, and ranks next to thoſe of Heſiod and Homer. Some ſay that it was compoſed by Cercops, and others have aſcribed it to Onomacritus. Cercops lived at or near the time of Pythagoras; and Onomacritus was cotemporary with Piſiſtratus: therefore they both lived about five hundred years before Chriſt. Conſequently, this poem, giving it the date of the lateſt conjectures, muſt have been written about two thouſand three hundred years ago. So long is it ſince Ireland was firſt expreſsly and by name known to the

Greeks. In fact, it is a poem of ſuch high antiquity, that its author, by the earlieſt writers who mention it, has only been conjectured. Be it therefore written by whom it may, it is certainly one of the oldeſt compoſitions extant in the Greek language, and that is ſufficient for my argument *. The poet calls himſelf Orpheus, I therefore quote him by that name; not meaning, however, thereby the ſon of Oeager and Calliope, but the author of this poem, whatever was his name; for to attempt now to aſcertain it, would be a vain undertaking. Alſo, whenever, alluding to this poem, I mention

* See Bochart Geo. Sac. lib. 1. c. 39. Suidas. Cicero de Nat. Deo. lib. 1. c. 38. Ola. Borrich. Diſſ. de poetis, 1. par. 17. I. G. Voſſ. de poet. Græc. c. 2. & c. 4. & c. 12.

mention the time of Orpheus hereafter, I mean the time when it is ſuppoſed this poem was written, aſſigning to it the moſt recent date, namely, about five hundred years before Chriſt.

The moſt antient Greek writers were of opinion that the ſea flowed entirely round the earth *. Thus Homer makes the ſun both to riſe † and to ſet ‡ in the ocean; thereby repreſenting the ſea both on the eaſt and on the weſt of the earth; he places

* Strabo, Dion. Perig.

† Ηελιω μεν επειτα νεον προσεβαλλεν αρουρας, 421. il. η
Εξ ακαλαρρειταο βαθυρροω Ωκεανοιο
Ουρανον εισανιων.

‡ Εν δ' επεσ' Ωκεανω λαμπρον φαος ηελιοιο, 485. il θ
Ελκον νυκτα μιλαιναν επι ζειδωρον αρουραν..

places the Æthiopians at the ſea on the ſouth *, and he makes the ſtars to ſet in the ſea at the north †. They alſo thought that the Mediterranean communicated with the external ſea, not only by the paſſage through the pillars of Hercules at the weſt, but alſo by the Nile towards the ſouth; and by the Tanais towards the north; and that the earth was thus ſeparated into three great inſulated tracts; and hence its diviſion into Europe, Aſia and Africa ‡. Even in the time of Herodotus

* Ζευς γαρ επ' Ωκεανον μετ' αμυμονας Αιθιοπηας 423. il. α
Χθιζος εβη μετα δαιτα· θεοι δ' ἅμα παντες ἑποντο.

† Εν δε τα τειρεα παντα τα τ' ουρανῳ εςεφανωται 485. il. σ
Πληιαδας θ', Υαδας τε, το τε σθενος Ωριωνος,
Αρκτον δ', ἣν και ἁμαξαν επικλησιν καλευσιν,
Ητ' ἀυτυ ςρεφεται, και τ' Ωριωνα δοκευει·
Οιη δ' ἀμμορος εςι λοετρων Ωκεανοιο·

‡ Strabo.

Herodotus it was unknown, as he ſays, whether the ſea flowed round the eaſt of Europe. And Scymnus, quoted by the Scholiaſt on Apollonius Rhodius, ſays that the Argonauts ſailed into the great ſea along the Tanais *. And Diodorus Siculus ſays, that not a few both of the antients and moderns were of opinion that the Argonauts made their way by the Tanais; but that when they came near the ſources of that river they drew their veſſel for ſome ſpace over the land, and then launched it again in another river, which flowed into the North Sea. Orpheus follows, therefore,

‡ Ουδεις δε ισορει δια τουτου [ιστρου] τους Αργοναυτας εισπεπλευκεναι εις την ἑσπεριαν θαλασσαν, εξω Τιμαγητου. ὡ ηκολουθησεν Απολλωνιος. ὁ μεν γαρ Σκυμνος, αυτους δια Ταναϊδος πεπλευκεναι επι την μεγαλην θαλασσαν παρεγενοντο.

Argon. iv.

therefore, the opinions which prevailed in his time; and repreſents the Argo as paſſing through the Boſphorus and Palus Mæotis, and making its way by the Riphæan mountains, and the country of the Hyperboreans into the North Sea, and ſo into the Atlantic to Ireland; and thence returning by the pillars of Hercules, and the Mediterranean: A courſe ſtrictly conformable to the moſt antient notions of geography among the Greeks, and which, inſtead of throwing any diſcredit on the poem, is, on the contrary, a mark of its high antiquity. Nor ſhould this geographical error of Orpheus and his cotemporaries, in ſuppoſing ſuch a navigation practicable, be a matter of ſurprize to us, ſince, many centuries after he wrote, the greateſt geographers, even Strabo, and Dionyſius,

Dionyſius, and Mela, and Pliny, purſuing this antient notion, have deſcribed the North Sea as communicating by a narrow ſtreight with the Caſpian *. In ſhort, when Orpheus wrote, the eaſtern boundary of Europe was unknown to the Greeks; he followed what was probably then the prevailing opinion; and, in order to diverſify his poem, repreſented the Argo as taking that courſe. He was not, however, deficient in geographical knowledge.

* Thus Pliny, ſpeaking of the Caſpian Sea, "Nam et irrumpit e Scythico oceano in averſa "Aſiæ, pluribus nominibus accolarum appellatum, "celeberrimis duobus, Caſpio et Hyrcanio."—And Harduinus, in his note on this paſſage, obſerves, "Fuit ea veterum ſententia, uſque ad "Ptolemæum; ſi Herodotum, Ariſtotelem, et "Diodorum excipias, Caſpium mare anguſto "fluento connecti cum Scythico, ſeu ſeptentrio-"nali: quem fere ad modum ex meridiano oce-"ano Perſicus effluit."

knowledge. He repreſents the nations in ſucceſſion, by which he ſuppoſes the Argo to paſs: As he approaches the pole, he notices the length of nights: And when he has ſailed from the ſea of Saturn to the Atlantic, the pilot is by a ſupernatural power told, that if he does not turn in towards the land, the Argo would be loſt in the unknown ocean: He bends his courſe accordingly, and immediately after paſſes Ireland. Thus the poet marks the ſituation of Ireland with great accuracy, and names it, as if it were a place well known, and which would aſcertain the limits of his courſe. But he does not name England, or Scotland, or France, or any other country near Ireland, and by which the Argo, in the courſe which he repreſents her to have taken,

must

muſt have paſſed. And why? Becauſe they were not known. For if they were, we muſt ſuppoſe that Orpheus would have mentioned them particularly by name, as he has all the nations in ſucceſſion from Theſſaly to the ſea of Saturn; eſpecially as by doing ſo he would have marked his courſe more preciſely, and given a greater appearance of truth to his relation.

Camden, however, who wiſhed to make his country participate in this antient memorial, has endeavoured to prove that the Greeks were not at this time entirely ignorant of England, though they had not a name for it. He ſays * that Orpheus mentions an

* Ut taceam Orpheum in Argonauticis inſulam proxime Hiberniam ſive Iernin, quæ neceſſariò ſit hæc

an iſland near Ireland, which he deſcribes by two Greek words, λευκαιον χερσον, which ſignify a *white land*, and mean England. To this there are many objections: In the firſt place he alters the orthography of one of the words, in order to make it ſignify

hæc noſtra, Λευκαιον χερσον, id eſt, Albicantem terram dixiſſe, quam ante pauculos verſus Νησον πευκηεσσαν pro λευκηεσσαν vocaſſe videatur.

Camden Britan. p. 27.

In the edition of this poem publiſhed by Stephanus A. D. 1566, in his Greek poets, the word is Λυκαιον. I do not know that there is ſuch a word as λευκαιος. And as to his change of πευκηεσσαν into λευκηεσσαν, I do not find that he has any authority for it; neither do I find any where the word λευκηεις; and even if it was written λευκηεσσαν in the poem, I think it ſhould be conſtrued poplar-bearing. It is alſo evident that the words Λυκαιον χερσον, and the words Νησον πευκηεσσαν, are applied to entirely diſtinct countries, of which any one muſt be convinced who reads the poem.

nify *white*, by changing λυκαιον into λευκαιον; and thus introduce ſome alluſion to the chalky ſhores of England, for which I cannot find that he has any authority. In the next place, ſo altered, it is not pure Greek. And in the next, he has been led into this error by following a vulgar notion, that *Albion* is derived from a Latin word, which ſignifies *white*; whereas it is demonſtrable that the word Albion could not have had a Latin origin, for the iſland was ſo called by the Greeks in the time of Ariſtotle, that is about three hundred years before the Romans knew even that there was ſuch a country. There are two other words alſo, Νησον πευκηεσσαν, in this poem, by which Camden ſays, that England is repreſented; and here, as before, he changes the orthography

orthography to Νησον λευκηεσσαν, and then aſſerts that theſe words ſignify a white iſland, which, being near Ireland, muſt of conſequence be England. But as the ſame objections, which I have juſt ſtated againſt his interpretation of the former words, apply alſo to his interpretation of theſe, I ſhall not repeat them. Beſides, admitting every alteration and interpretation of Camden's in both theſe inſtances, ſtill they would only prove that the chalky ſhores of England had been ſeen by thoſe who had navigated that part of the Atlantic, which no one will queſtion; but that the iſland itſelf was of ſo little note, that even it name was unknown, would nevertheleſs remain a juſt inference.

If it be objected, that the antient Greeks did not navigate ſeas ſo diſtant

tant as the northern part of the Atlantic, and the ſea of Saturn: I anſwer, that I do not mean to aſſert that they did; but that the Phœnicians did; and from them the Greeks obtained their knowledge of thoſe remote parts of the world. Of this knowledge many authors of high authority think that Homer in his Odyſſey, as well as Orpheus in his Argonautics, availed himſelf. Not that they ſuppoſe that either Ulyſſes or Jaſon actually ſailed into the Atlantic; but that theſe poets, to give more variety to their poems, repreſent them to have done ſo. Strabo * is of opinion, that a great part of the ſcenery of the Odyſſey is placed in the Atlantic. Plutarch ſays, that the iſland of

* Lib. i. Alſo Spondanus and Goropius.

of Calypſo, mentioned by Homer, is an iſland on the weſt of Britain *. He alſo ſays, that Homer took his notion of the infernal regions from the country of the Cimmerians, who lived near the North Pole †. And he ſays, " that in one of the iſlands " near Britain, the barbarians feign " that Saturn was impriſoned by Ju- " piter, and hence the North ſea was " called the ſea of Saturn.‡" And Strabo

* πρωτερον δε αυτω φρασω τον ποιητην ὑμιν, ει μη τι κωλυει καθ Ομηρον αρξαμενον,

Ωγυγιη τις νησος αποπροθεν ειν ἁλι κειται,
δρομον ἡμερων πεντε Βρεττανιας απεχουσα πλεοντι προς ἑσπεραν.

De facie in orbe Lunæ, p. 941.

† Plutarch, Marius, p. 411.

‡ Plutarch, De facie in orbe Lunæ, p. 941. And ſo Drayton,

'Till through the ſleepy main to Thulé I have gone,
And ſeen the frozen iſles, the cold Ducalidon,

Amongſt

Strabo ſays, that Artemidorus aſſerts, "that there is an iſland near Britain, "where Ceres and Proſerpine are wor- "ſhipped, with the ſame rites as in "Samothrace*:" and Bochart ſuppoſes that theſe ceremonies were introduced there by the Phœnicians†. Others, who wiſh to confine Ulyſſes to the Mediterranean iſlands, but think however, that Homer repreſents him as having paſſed into the Atlantic, ſuppoſe ſome of the Mediterranean iſlands, by a poetic licenſe, transferred

Amongſt whoſe iron rocks grim Saturn yet remains,
Bound in thoſe gloomy caves with adamantine chains.

I. Song.

* Ειναι νησον προς τη Βρεττανικη, καθ ην ομοια τοις εν Σαμοθρακη περι την Δημητραν και την Κορην ιεροποιειται.

† Geog. Sac. l. i. c. 39.

to the Atlantic *. But this ſuppoſition is ſo inconſiſtent with that attention to geographical accuracy, which Homer in all the other parts of his poems has obſerved, that it is quite inadmiſſible. Heſiod places the gardens of the Heſperides in the Atlantic near the territory of Atlas. It is very probable, therefore, that the Atlantic, both to the north and ſouth, had been navigated before the time of Heſiod and Homer. Herodotus, the moſt antient writer extant in Greek proſe, ſays, " of Europe no " one knows, whether on the eaſt, or " on

* Thus Damm, at the word Calypſo, ſays, " Poe- " ta eam inſulam [Ogygiam] ſuo more εκτοπιζει, et " in Atlanticum mare transferre videtur." And again, at the word Scherria, he ſays, " Poeta au- " tem eam εκτοπιζει, quaſi extra mare Mediterra- " neum in Oceano ſita eſt."

" on the north, the ſea flows round " it *." What follows? That it was known in his time, that the ſea flowed round the ſouth and the weſt; and conſequently that the Atlantic had been navigated from the pillars of Hercules to Ireland.

The Caſſiterides are generally ſuppoſed to be the Britiſh iſles: from them the Phœnicians ſupplied the nations bordering on the Mediterranean with lead or tin. Pliny ſays, that Midacritus firſt brought lead from the iſland Caſſiteris †. And Bochart,

* Η δε Ευρωπη προς υδαμων φανερη εστι γιγνωσκομενη, ουτε τα προς ηλιον ανατελλοντα, ουτε τα προς βορεην, ει περιρρυτος εστι.
Herod. lib. xiv. cap. 45.

† Plumbum ex Caſſiteride inſula primus apportavit Midacritus.—Lib. vii. cap. 56.

chart, and from him Sir Iſaac Newton *, ſays, that Midacritus, ſhould be written Melcartus, the Phœnician Hercules. And Sir Iſaac Newton tranſlates ex Caſſiteride inſula, *from Britain*; but for this he has no authority. In the firſt place, Pliny is the only writer who uſes the name in the ſingular number; therefore if the Caſſiterides meant *Tin* iſlands, Britain was not the only iſland ſo denominated; and therefore from this paſſage it does not appear which of the Britannic iſles it was that Melcartus viſited, and conſequently it would prove as well that he viſited Ireland as Britain. I admit, that there are no *tin* mines now known in Ireland, though ſome antient

* Chronol. p. 112. London edit. 1728.

tient Iriſh poems mention that there were ſuch. But there are lead and ſilver mines, which are now worked; and by καττιτερος, the antient Greeks ſeem to have ſignified *lead*, or probably lead which abounded with ſilver particles. Thus Mela ſays, it was becauſe theſe iſlands abounded with *lead*, that they were called Caſſiterides *. And Pliny ſays, there are two kinds of lead; the black, and the white; and the latter is the moſt precious, and by the Greeks called *tin* †. He alſo ſays, that when the ſame

* In Celticis aliquot ſunt, quas, quia *plumbo* abundant, uno omnes nomine Caſſiterides appellant. Lib. ii. cap. 8.

† Sequitur natura plumbi: cujus duo genera, nigrum atque candidum. Pretioſiſſimum candidum, a Græcis appellatum Caſſiteron. Lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.

ſame ore contains both ſilver and lead, the firſt metal which flows from it in the furnace, is called tin; the ſecond, ſilver *; conſequently it does not appear from the product of theſe iſlands, whether it was with England or Ireland that this trade was carried on. And Bochart ſays, that the word Caſſiterides was of Phœnician origin †. We may therefore reaſonably conclude,

* Plumbi nigri origo duplex eſt: aut enim ſua provenit vena, nec quidem aliud ex ſe parit: aut cum argento naſcitur, mixtiſque venis conflatur. Ejus qui primus fluit in fornacibus liquor, ſtannum appellatur: qui ſecundus, argentum. And ſo Bochart, "ſtannum veteribus plumbi ſpecies."

† Quin Græcum ſtanni nomen κασσιτερος, unde dictæ Caſſiterides poſſit videri Phœniciæ eſſe originis, quia Chaldæi et Arabes ſtannum appellant vocabulis huic ſimilibus. Sic Num. 31 : 22. pro Hebræo בדיל et Græco κασσιτερω, Jonathan habet קסטירא kaſtira, et Arabs קודיר kaſdir, &c.—
Geo. Sac. lib. i. cap. 39.

clude, that the Caſſiterides were Britannic iſles, with ſome one or more of which the Phœnicians traded for lead or tin; and that they carried on this commerce in the time of Herodotus, who flouriſhed about five hundred years before Chriſt, for he mentions it expreſsly. He ſays *, "I do not believe that the river, "which the barbarians call the Eri-"danus, flows into the north ſea, from

* Περι δε των εν τη Ευρωπη των προς εσπερην εσχατεων εχω μεν ουκ ατρεκεως λεγειν. ουτε γαρ εγωγε ενδεκομαι Ηριδανον καλεεσθαι προς βαρβαρων ποταμον, εκδιδοντα ες θαλασσαν την προς βορεην ανεμον, απο του το ελεκτρον φοιταν λογος εστι, ουτε νησους οιδα κασσιτεριδας ουσας, εκ των ο κασσιτερος ημιν φοιτα. τουτο μεν γαρ, ο Ηριδανος αυτο κατηγορεει το ουνομα, ως εστι Ελληνικον, και ουτι βαρβαρικον, υπο ποιητεω δε τινος ποιηθεν. ουτε δε εδενος αυτοπτεω γενομενου η δυναμαι ακουσαι τουτο μελετων, οκως θαλασσα εστι τα επεκεινα Ευρωπης. εξ εσχατης δ' ων ο κασσιτερος ημιν φοιτα, και το ηλεκτρον. Προς δε αρκτου της Ευρωπης πολλω τοι πλειστος χρυσος φαινεται εων. οκως μεν γινομενος, ουκ εχω ουδε τουτο ατρεκεως ειπαι. Lib. iii. cap. 115 and 116.

" from which, they ſay, the amber " comes; neither do I know the " iſlands, called the Caſſiterides: And " though I have made diligent en- " quiry, I have not heard from any " one, who was an eye-witneſs, how " the ſea is circumſtanced at that " part of Europe: From theſe *extre-* " *mities*, however," ſays he, " the " tin and amber are brought to us." And Pliny ſays *, that in his time the amber was brought from the northern ocean; and at this day it is principally found in countries on the ſhores of the Baltic; a ſtrong confirmation of this paſſage in Herodotus; and a proof, that not only the Atlantic, but the Baltic, had been navigated by

* Certum eſt gigni in inſulis ſeptentrionalis oceani. Lib. xxxvii. cap. 3.

by the Phœnicians, when he wrote: for had they been Greeks, who carried on the traffic, he could have found no difficulty in obtaining further information reſpecting theſe places. Herodotus, in the paſſage juſt before the one I have quoted, deſcribed the ſouthern region of the earth; in this he was deſcribing the northern: By it, therefore, he ſhews the northern ſituation of the Caſſiterides, which is a further confirmation of their being the Britannic iſles. He alſo adds, "that "there appears to be a great deal "of gold at the north of Europe." There is no gold mine now known in Ireland, but the quantity of that metal, which has been found here from time to time in the bogs, is very remarkable, and proves that the inhabi-

inhabitants, at a very remote period, poſſeſſed it in great abundance. There is alſo a very deciſive proof of the early and great ſkill of the Phœcicians in navigation, related by Herodotus, which deſerves here to be noted. He ſays *, that Necus, King of Egypt, who lived about ſix hundred years before Chriſt, ordered ſome Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa, and explore the coaſts of that continent; and that they ſteered by the Red Sea round by the Cape of Good Hope, and returned by the Streights of Gibraltar to Egypt. And he gives a deciſive proof of their having performed this voyage; for he ſays, that he does not believe what they related, "that ſailing by Africa, they had "the

* Herod. lib. iv. cap. 42.

" the ſun on the right *." Now they, who had ſuch ſkill in navigation, and ſuch an enterprizing ſpirit as to double the Cape of Good Hope, were certainly able to navigate from the Mediterranean to Ireland. In ſhort we have as much reaſon for believing that the Phœnicians viſited the northern ſeas, before this poem of Orpheus was written, as we could poſſible expect at this diſtance of time. Of this Bochart is ſo certain, that he ſays, " it muſt have been from " the Phœnicians that Orpheus learned " the name of Ireland, for theſe places " at that time had not been viſited " by the Greeks †."

Except

* Και ελεγον εμοι μεν ϗ πιϛα, αλλω δε δη τεω, ὡς περιπλωοντες ες την Λιϐυην, τον ἡλιον εσχον ες τα δεξια. ibid.

† De Hibernia hæc Orpheus, vel potius Onomacritus, παρ δαρα νησον αμειϐεν Ιερνιδα. Nempe edoctus

Except the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians were the only people, by whom it is at all probable that ſuch voyages ſhould at that time have been made. But that they were not acquainted with Ireland, I infer from this, that the Romans, who had ſo much intercourſe with them, knew nothing of Ireland, nor of England, until the invaſion by Julius Cæſar. Nay, after that invaſion, it was a queſtion at Rome warmly conteſted, whether England was an iſland or not, ſo little did they know of it: Nor was the fact aſcertained until the time of Agricola, that is, ſeveral hundred years after Orpheus expreſsly names the iſland of Ireland. Beſides, Ariſtotle

tus a Phœnicibus, Græcis enim tunc temporis hæc loca erant inacceſſa.

Bochart. Geogr. Sacra. lib. i. c. 39.

Ariſtotle * mentions a commerce carried on between the Carthaginians and the iſlands beyond the pillars of Hercules by the intervention of the Phœnicians, which would not have been the caſe, if the Carthaginians themſelves had any intercourſe with thoſe iſlands. Himilco, who explored the weſtern coaſt of Europe, was ſent on that expedition by the Carthaginians, at the ſame time that Hanno was ſent to explore the weſtern coaſt of

* De mirabilibus auſcult. vol. 1. p. 1165. And Dodwell de Peripli Hannonis ætate, ſays, Sed commercium horum Phœnicum cum Gaditanis, & Gaditanorum cum Libyæ partibus oceano objectis jam probavimus. Et quidem tale, ut merces Carthaginienſibus ipſis incognitas Carthaginem importârint. Quod ſane fieri non potuit, ſi cum iiſdem commercium habuiſſent ipſi Carthaginienſes.

of Africa *. As then the Carthaginians themſelves had no intercourſe with Gades when Ariſtotle wrote, and as they certainly had, when Hanno ſailed, it being from thence that he began his voyage, Hanno's voyage muſt have been ſubſequent to the time that Ariſtotle wrote; and as Himilco's was made at the ſame time with Hanno's, conſequently Himilco's voyage muſt alſo have been ſubſequent to the time that Ariſtotle wrote. The Carthaginians, therefore, were unacquainted at that time with Ireland and all the Britannic iſles. And Feſtus Avienus,

* Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ navigationem eam prodidit ſcripto: ſicut ad extera Europæ poſcenda miſſus eodem tempore Himilco.

Pliny.

Avienus, who deſcribes the weſtern coaſt of Europe from the relations of Himilco and other authors, does not ſay that Himilco mentions any of the Britannic iſles, but only that he ſpeaks of certain iſlands which he calls Oeſtrymnides, and which Feſtus Avienus repreſents to be within two days ſail of Ireland. Himilco might, therefore, in his voyage have ſeen England and Ireland, but it does not appear that he was at all acquainted with them, or even knew them by name, nor is there any record of the Carthaginians ever having had any intercourſe with them afterwards. It muſt therefore have been from the Phœnicians and not from the Carthaginians, that Ariſtotle and all the Greeks antecedent to his times received their information concerning Ireland.

Further,

Further, the Phœnicians wiſhed to preſerve the monopoly which they had of the commerce with theſe northern countries; and, therefore, as much as poſſible kept every thing reſpecting them concealed. Strabo ſays, that they did ſo even with reſpect to Gades *. Conſequently the Greeks themſelves had no intercourſe with Gades, and therefore they could have had none with the Britannic iſles, which are ſo much more diſtant, and to which they could not ſail without paſſing by Gades. If, then, neither the Greeks nor the Carthaginians had any intercourſe with the Britannic iſles at the early period I have been treating of, I think any reaſonable

* Προτερον μεν ȣν Φοινκες μονοι την εμποριαν εϛελλον εκ των Γαδειρων, κρυπτοντες ἁπασι τον πλȣν.

Strabo, de Caſſiteride.

reaſonable man will agree with Bochart, that it muſt have been from the Phœnicians that the Greeks learned the name of Ireland; and conſequently that the Phœnicians were acquainted with Ireland before this poem by Orpheus was written; and this poem having been written, according to every opinion about it, not later than the time of Piſiſtratus, it follows, that the Phœnicians were acquainted with Ireland, with its ſituation, for the poem deſcribes it exactly, and with its name, about the time of Piſiſtratus, that is above five hundred years before Chriſt.

Further, Herodotus, in the paſſage I have already cited, ſays, that in his time *tin* was brought from the iſlands called the Caſſiterides to the Greeks;

and I have already ſhewn, that the Caſſiterides are the Britiſh iſles, and that of theſe Ireland is the firſt with which it appears that the Phœnicians were acquainted. I have alſo ſhewn, that by the word κασσιτερος the antient Greeks ſignified *lead* rather than *tin*, as the produce of theſe iſlands; and that there are mines of this metal wrought in Ireland at this day. Now the queſtion is, who wrought theſe mines in the time of Herodotus? How did the Phœnicians obtain this lead, which they imported from Ireland into Greece? Muſt it not have been by one of thoſe two ways? Either that the Phœnicians wrought theſe mines themſelves, or got the metal by barter from the Aboriginal Iriſh. Now it could not be from the Aboriginal Iriſh, for to work

mines

mines is an operation which requires great ſkill, and proves a conſiderable advance in civilization. If it was the fur of a wild beaſt, or any ſuperficial product of the iſland, the Aboriginal Iriſh might have procured it, and bartered it with the Phœnicians: but the deep produce of a mine was far beyond their reſearch. Beſides, if they knew how to work mines, they would only have worked thoſe of braſs, or gold, or iron, for theſe are the only metals ſuch a people would have prized: Lead would have been of no value to them either for uſe or ornament, and they never would have thought of it as a commodity for merchandize: Neither do we ever find any thing which belonged to the antient Iriſh made of lead, but of braſs, or gold, or a compoſition of braſs

and tin. The Phœnicians themſelves, therefore, who wanted lead for traffic, and who knew the value which it bore in other countries, and who had alſo the means of tranſporting it, muſt have been the perſons who wrought theſe mines. But it is impoſſible that they could have wrought them, without the eſtabliſhment of a colony in the country. I think, therefore, that any reaſonable man will be of opinion, that there was a colony of Phœnicians eſtabliſhed in one of theſe iſlands in the time of Herodotus; and as I have already ſhewn it to be much more probable that the Phœnicians were ſooner and better acquainted with Ireland than with England, I alſo think any reaſonable man will be of opinion that it was in Ireland the Phœnician colony

was

was then eſtabliſhed; and conſequently that in the time of Herodotus, that is five hundred years before Chriſt, the Phœnicians were not only acquainted with Ireland, but had a colony eſtabliſhed there.

Further, this colony of Phœnicians ſettled in Ireland firſt either for the expreſs purpoſe of working theſe mines, or arrived there by ſome caſualty. Now the latter is the more probable; for it is not at all likely that they ſhould come to ſuch a diſtant region, for the expreſs purpoſe of exploring the entrails of its mountains. This would have been a ſpeculation too remote and precarious. Beſides it would be a work which would require much time, and which could not well be attempted, for a number

number of obvious reaſons, without the previous eſtabliſhment of a colony. It is, therefore, much more probable that ſome Phœnicians went there, as the old annals of Ireland relate, caſually at firſt, and eſtabliſhed themſelves there, and in proceſs of time afterwards, as they encreaſed in numbers and extended themſelves into the country, and explored its receſſes, that they diſcovered theſe mines; conſequently it was not, until ſeveral ages after the firſt ſettlement of the colony in Ireland, that lead was imported from thence into Greece; and as we know to a certainty that it was imported ſo early as in the time of Herodotus, and probably long before, it follows that the Phœnician colony was ſettled in Ireland many ages before Herodotus, that is, many ages

before

before one who flouriſhed five hundred years before Chriſt; and probably therefore about the time in which Sir Iſaac Newton ſays that the Phœnicians firſt viſited theſe northern ſeas; that is, in the time of the Phœnician Hercules; that is, as he ſays, immediately after the deſtruction of Troy; that is, above *three thouſand years ago.* So great, from reaſonable inference, appears to have been the antiquity of the Phœnician ſettlement in Ireland; and this accords with the antient annals of the country.

Again; the next Greek to Orpheus who has made mention of Ireland is Ariſtotle *. He alſo mentions England,

* Εν τυτω [ωκεανω] γιμην νησοι μεγισαι τε τυγχανυσιν υσαι δυο, Βρεττανικαι λεγομεναι, Αλβιον και Ιερνη.

Ariſt. de Mundo. p. 604.

If

land, and calls it *Albion*. Now whence had this name its origin? We do not find that it was a name antiently given to England by its own inhabitants; or that they called themſelves Albions; or their language the Albion tongue. Cæſar does not once mention it. Nor does Camden ſuppoſe it of native origin *. There was but one part of the iſland antiently called by

If it be objected, that this treatiſe was not written by him; without going into that enquiry, I anſwer, that if not, it was however written at a period not remote from his time, and that is ſufficient for my argument.

* De nomine *Albion* non multum laboro, quod huic inſulæ impoſuerunt Græci ad differentiam, cum circumvicinæ inſulæ omnes Britannicæ et Britanniæ vocarentur.—Camd. Brit.—And again. A Græcorum vanitate, fabuloſitate & deſultoria illa in fingendis nominibus levitate, quam ipſi αγαθὸν ευρεσιλογιαν dixerunt, hoc nomen *Albion* enatum videtur.—ib. p. 27.

by any name that had a ſimilitude to this; and that is, that part of the iſland which was called *Albin*, now Scotland. I know the fallacy in general of etymologies; but here there is ſuch a cloſe conformity between *Albin* and *Albion*, that I cannot doubt but they were originally the ſame. Now this name is of Iriſh etymology, *Albin* ſignifying mountainous, from *alb*, a mountain *, the very character of this country; and this part was alſo colonized from Ireland †. This colonization

* Vide Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary.

† And ſo Mr. James Mc. Pherſon, in his introduction to the hiſtory of the ancient Britons, ſays, "Alba, or Albin, the name by which the "ancient Scots, in their native language, have "from all antiquity diſtinguiſhed their diviſion of "Britain, ſeems to be the fountain from which "the Greeks derived their Albion."

colonization is aſſerted by all the venerable Engliſh writers; ſcarcely any one has ever attempted to queſtion it; and the inhabitants there at this day ſpeak a dialect of the Iriſh or Erſe as they call it. Nay Camden conſiders it as ſo certain, that he ſays, "that if all hiſtories were loſt, "and no writings made it known, "that we Engliſh were deſcended "from the Germans, and the genuine "*Scots* from the *Iriſh*, and the Armori-"can Britains from our Britains, yet "the communion of languages alone "would clearly evince it; nay more "clearly than the authority of the "moſt profound hiſtorians *." The inference

* Quod ſi omnes omnium hiſtoriæ intercidiſſent, & nemo literis prodidiſſet nos Anglos e Germanis, *genuinos Scotos ex Hibernis*, Britones Armoricanos a noſtris

inference that I make from this is, that Ariſtotle having called England Albion (and here let me obſerve, that when I ſay England I mean the whole iſland, uſing this modern and familiar name to avoid a confuſion with the

noſtris Britannis prognatos fuiſſe, ipſarum linguarum communitas hoc facile evinceret, imo facilius, quam vel graviſſimorum hiſtoricorum authoritas. ib. p. 17.—It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add any authority in addition to this, to ſhew that the Scots, the inhabitants of Albin, or Albania as it was ſometimes called in Latin, were a colony from Ireland. Procedente autem tempore Britannia, poſt Britones & Pictos, Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, qua duce Reuda de Hibernia egreſſi, vel amicitia vel ferro, ſibimet inter eos ſedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. Venerable Bede. Ec. Hiſ. c. 1.—And Buchannan, " But in the beginning, when both people, i. e. the inhabitants of Ireland, and their colonies ſent into Albium, were called Scots, that there might be ſome diſtinction betwixt them, ſome Scots were called Iriſh Scots, others Albin Scots. E. 2. Hiſt. Scotland.

the old names, of which I am ſpeaking) Ariſtotle, I ſay, having called England Albion, and having got that name from the Phœnicians, for reaſons already ſtated; the Phœnicians muſt have got it from the Iriſh, it being applicable to that part of the iſland only which was peopled by the Iriſh. For if the Phœnicians, in their voyages to England, had taken the name of the country from the inhabitants themſelves, it would have been from ſome ſouthern part which they had viſited; and they would have given it a name to be found in the ſouthern diſtricts, which Albion was not: for that they, ſailing from the ſouth, ſhould paſs every ſouthern and weſtern part of England 'till they came ſo far north as Albin, and from thence denominate the iſland, is not to be ſuppoſed.

poſed. Whereas no ſuppoſition can be more probable, than that the Iriſh ſhould name England to the Phœnicians from that part of the iſland which they beſt knew, and which had been colonized from them; and with which they kept up a continual intercourſe.

One word more concerning this paſſage in Ariſtotle. He ſays that the *Bretannic* iſles are Albion and Ierna. This is the firſt time that the word *Bretannic* occurs in any author. And this word, Camden is of opinion, is not a native of the iſland, but impoſed upon it by ſome external nation. He ſays *, " that if you run " over

* Et ſi recentia, & antiqua [nomina] percurras ſingula, obſervabis ſingulas gentes, diverſis ac ipſi uſi

" over the names of antient and mo-
" dern nations, you will obſerve that
" every nation is differently named
by

uſi ſint nominibus, ab aliis denominari. Sic, qui patria lingua Iſraelitæ vocabantur, Græcis Hebræi, & Judæi, atque Ægyptis Hueſi (teſte Manetho) nominabantur, quod reges paſtores habuerunt, ſic Græci eos Syros, qui ſe (ut author eſt Joſephus) Aramæos dixerunt. Qui ſe Chuſios, Græci ab atro vultu Æthiopes vocarunt. Qui ſibi ſua lingua Celtæ, Græcis Gallatæ dicti, a lacteo forſitan candore, facies enim (ut nonnulli volunt) increta-bant. Sic qui ſeipſos ſua lingua Teutſch, Numi-das, & Hellenas nuncuparunt, a Romanis Ger-mani, Mauri, Græci appellantur. Sic hodie, ne plura perſequar, qui ſuo ipſorum idiomate Muſel-manni, Magier, Czechi, Beſermanni dicuntur, ab Europæis omnibus Turcæ, Hungari, Bohæmi, & Tartari nuncupantur. Et nos ipſi Angli, qui nobis noſtra lingua *Engliſhmen* vocamur, Britannis, Hi-bernicis, & ſylveſtribus Scotis *Saſſon* appellamur. Eadem ratione judicandum eſt, majores noſtros, qui ſe *Cumeros* dixerunt, alia de cauſa, vel a ſe, vel ab aliis *Britones* dictos fuiſſe, unde Græci Βρεττανοι conflarunt, et quaſi per manus Romanis tradiderunt.—Camden. Britan. p. 26.

" by others and by itſelf. Thus," he ſays, " thoſe who are called Iſ-
" raelites in their own language, are
" by the Greeks called Hebrews and
" Jews; and thoſe whom the Greeks
" call Syrians, are by themſelves called
" Armæans, &c. And ſo at this day,
" thoſe who call themſelves Muſſel-
" men, &c. are by the Europeans
" called Turks; and we Engliſh, who
" call ourſelves in our own language
" Engliſhmen, are by the Britiſh,
" Iriſh, and highland Scots, called
" Saxons. In the ſame manner we
" muſt be of opinion, that our an-
" ceſtors, who called themſelves Cu-
" meri, were for ſome cauſe or other,
" by themſelves, or *by others*, called
" Britains, from whence the *Greeks*
" formed Britannia, and *from their*
" *hands it was received by the Ro-*
" *mans.*"

"*mans.*" Thus this learned and unwearied antiquarian, having conſidered every poſſible origin and etymology for this diſtinguiſhed name of his own country, at laſt finding them all unſatisfactory, ſeems to be of opinion, that it was impoſed by ſome external nation, and thence tranſmitted to the Greeks; and from the Greeks to the Romans. Bochart too is of opinion that this name was not a native of the iſland, but ſuppoſes it to be Phœnician *.

Let

* He ſays it ſignifies a land of tin or lead. Ita a Phœnicibus dictas fuiſſe. ברת אנך barat anac. agrum ſtanni et plumbi, quod Phœnicium nomen deflexum in Βρεττανικας. Bochart Geo. Sac. l. 1. c. 39.

I quote this paſſage from Bochart, merely to ſhew, that in his opinion the word Britannic was of Phœnician origin.

Let us however conſider further the words of Ariſtotle. *The Britannic iſles*, ſays he, *are Albion and Ierna.* That is, they are *both* Britannic iſles: and Ierna as much a Britannic iſle as Albion. Therefore the name, Britannic, is common to the two. What follows? that it was not a name originating in either. For as neither country had ever been at this time ſubordinate to the other, but as they were both ſeparate and independent nations, they never could have given themſelves a common appellation. And thus, Marcianus *, and Agathemoras,

† προς δε τυτοις και των δυο νησων των εν τω αρκτωω κειμενων, ἁ; κοινως μεν Πρεττανικας καλυσι. λεγεται δε αυτων ἡ μεν ΙΟΥΕΡΝΙΑ, ἡ δε ΑΛΒΙΩΝΟΣ. Again, naming the iſlands and peninſulas in their order of magnitude, he ſays, δευτερα δε των Βρεταννικων ἡ Αλβιων, τριτη δε ἡ χρυση χερσονησος, τεταρτη δε των Βρεταννικων ἡ Ιερνια.—Marci. Herac. Periplus.

moras *, and all antient Greek writers as well as Ariſtotle, apply the name Britannic equally to both iſlands, and oftener ſay Ierna and Albion, than Albion and Ierna. Nor was the word Britain ever uſed in the ſingular, or the people of England ever ſeparately and diſtinctively called Britains, until the time of Julius Cæſar. And he muſt have received that name, as Camden ſays, from the Greeks; for the Romans, until his invaſion, were utterly ignorant of the iſland. In confirmation of this, it appears from his commentaries, that he had read books deſcriptive of theſe iſlands, which

* Νησοι αξιολογοι ενμιν τη εκτος θαλασσης ας Βρεταννικαι δυο, ΙΟΥΕΡΝΙΑ τε και ΑΛΟΥΙΩΝΟΣ. Agath. l. 2. c. 4. And ſo Euſtathius Commentary on Dionyſius, αι Βρεταννιδες εισι δυο νησοι ΟΥΕΡΝΙΑ και ΑΛΟΥΙΩΝ, ητοι Βερνια και Αλβιων.

which muſt, for the ſame reaſon, have been written by the Greeks *. And as it appears from Ariſtotle and Polybius †, that the Greeks were acquainted with the word Britannic before the time of Julius Cæſar, he muſt have formed from it the word Britannia, which no where appears before, and ſo appropriated it, for

* In hoc medio curſu eſt inſula, quæ appellatur Mona: complures præterea minores objectæ inſulæ exiſtimantur: de quibus inſulis nonnulli *ſcripſerunt*, dies continuos 30 ſub bruma eſſe noctem.—De Bell. Gal. lib. v.

† Polybius, lib. iii.

Polybius is the next Greek to Ariſtotle, whoſe works are extant, and who mentions the Britannic iſles. But he does not mention their number or names. He ſays that writers diſagreed very much in their accounts of them. Hiſt. lib. iii. It muſt be therefore to ſome of theſe Greek writers that Cæſar alludes.

the firſt time, excluſively to England, and with his conqueſt ſtamped it upon the iſland: thus taking, as it ſeems, in the triumph of his ambition, the moſt comprehenſive term he could find to expreſs whatever was then conſidered as the extremities of the earth, to denominate the bounds of his victories.

Thus, I ſay, Cæſar received the term Britannic from the Greeks; and the Greeks muſt have received it, as I have already proved, from the Phœnicians; and therefore, it is moſt probable, that the Phœnicians, as Bochart ſays, were the authors of it; and that it was in their language expreſſive of the ſituation or product of thoſe iſlands. Again: As the Greeks uſed this term as a general and common

mon name for both iſlands equally, it muſt have been ſo uſed by the Phœnicians, from whom they received it. In fine, I ſay, if any one imagines from finding England called Britain diſtinctively in later times, that it was ſo called antiently, and antecedent to Julius Cæſar, it is an error. And conſequently, if any one from finding Ireland antiently denominated a Britiſh iſle, would therefore infer that in antient times England was of more note, and that Ireland was thus only implicated in a name which peculiarly belonged to England, it is an error likewiſe. And conſequently it cannot be inferred, from Ireland having been antiently called a Britannic iſle by the Greeks, and therefore by the Phœnicians, that the Phœnicians were better acquainted, or at all acquainted with

with England; or that they at all implicated Ireland in a term appropriate to England, as this term was not ſo peculiarly appropriated until centuries after.

I have now ſhewn, firſt, that the Greeks, and therefore the Phœnicians, were acquainted with Ireland before they knew any thing of England; and if it was mentioned by them at all, it was only mentioned as a waſte, without even a name. Secondly, that what knowledge they afterwards got of it was from Ireland; and that they gave it a name only from that northern part, which was colonized from Ireland. And thirdly, that the word Britannic was only a name of external origin, impoſed by the Phœnicians, and equally applicable to both

both iſlands, and therefore no inference in favour of antient note or eminence in England can be thence derived*.

If

* The Iſle of Man too, the Scilly iſlands, and in ſhort all the iſlands contiguous, as well as England and Ireland, were called antiently Britannic iſlands. And ſo Pliny, ſpeaking of England, "Albion ipſi nomen *fuit*, quum Britannicæ vocarentur *omnes*." By the word *fuit* clearly implying, that the appropriation of Britannia to England was modern. And ſo Dionyſius, ſpeaking of theſe iſlands,

Ταων τοι μεγεθος περιωσιον. ουδε τις αλλη
Νησοις εν πασησι Βρεταγισιν ισοφαριζει.
Dionyſ. Perig. v. 568.

And ſo Cellarius: Inſulæ Britannicæ plures numero, ſed duæ majores ceteris. Unde eſt quod *duas* tantum inſulas, ſed majores, & notabiliores quidam memorant. And again, ſpeaking of the antient name of Albion, he ſays, Quod verò hæc maxima omnium Britannicarum eſt, ſimpliciter a pleriſque *Britannia* appellatur, *Albionis* nomen in obſoletis habitum.—Cellar. lib. i. cap. 4.

If this will not ſatisfy, let it be recollected, when external authorities are called for to confirm the antient hiſtory of this country, that the neighbouring nations were barbarous and unlettered; or at leaſt, that they have no antient records now to appeal to. Let it be alſo recollected, that the Phœnicians were the only diſtant nation that antiently navigated theſe ſeas, and that they are long ſince extinct; that their antient records have all periſhed; and that there is ſcarcely a memorial of them now remaining, except ſuch brief fragments as are to be found in Joſephus, or Theophilus, or Sanconiatho, which are little more than the barren chronicles of ſome of their kings, without any account of their colonies or commerce. What then is to be done,

done, when we are called upon for antient atteſtations of our hiſtory, but to collect, as I have endeavoured to do, the rare and ſcattered mention that has been made of theſe iſlands by the Greeks, and thence to deduce by reaſonable inferences, a judgment of the time at which the Phœnicians became acquainted with them, and of the knowledge which they had of them; and to compare theſe afterwards with the Iriſh accounts, as I ſhall preſently do, and ſee how far they correſpond, and thus to form a faithful eſtimate of their truth and credibility?

I have already ſhewn that the Phœnicians were, at a very early period of the world, acquainted with Ireland. I ſhall now proceed to ſhew that

that the Iriſh were a Phœnician colony. I do not mean to ſay that Ireland was not inhabited before the arrival of the Phœnicians; but that the Phœnicians made a ſettlement there, and immediately or by degrees obtained a complete dominion over the antient inhabitants, and eſtabliſhed in the iſland their laws, religion, and language. To prove then that the Iriſh were a Phœnician colony: And here I ſhall begin with their language, "which," as Camden ſays *, is the "great

* Nunc ad linguam ventum eſt, in qua maximum eſt hujus diſputationis firmamentum & certiſſimum originis gentium argumentum. Qui enim linguæ ſocietate conjuncti ſunt originis etiam communione fuiſſe conjunctos homo opinor nemo inficiabitur. Camden Britannia.

La langue d'une nation eſt toujours le plus reconnoiſſable de ſes monumens: par elle on apprend ſes antiquités, on decouvre ſon origine.

Fourmont, T. 7. p. 497.

" great confirmation of this queſtion, " and the moſt certain argument of " the origin of nations: for that " they who have the ſame language " had the ſame origin, I think no " one will deny." Now it is univerſally admitted, that the Carthaginians originally came from Phœnicia, and ſpoke the Phœnician language. And a ſpecimen of that language has been preſerved by Plautus in one of his plays, which contains ſome ſpeeches of Hanno, a Carthaginian, in the language of his country. And theſe ſpeeches appear upon examination to be evidently and undeniably the ſame language with the Iriſh. Some allowance is to be made for the change which the two languages muſt have undergone, when the compariſon is made between their compoſitions at diſtant

diſtant periods; and alſo ſome allowance for the corruptions which the Carthaginian ſpeeches muſt have ſuffered from the miſtakes of ignorant tranſcribers *; yet the conformity between the two languages is ſtill ſo ſtriking, that I think no candid man can doubt of their original identity. From the time that the Carthaginian colony quitted Phœnicia, to the time that Plautus wrote, was about ſix hundred

* From the following confeſſion of Gronovius, we may judge what interpolations and omiſſions have been committed in this ſpeech by ignorant tranſcribers. "Punica hæc ſcripta erant ſine "punctis vocalibus; ut et Hebræa ſive Phœnicia "omnia; librarii verò vocales pro ingenii, et eru-"ditionis ſuæ modulo ſubſtituerunt, falſo ſæpius "quam factum vellem." But he does not ſay he had ſeen the manuſcript, nor does he tell us from what authority he conjectures that this ſpeech was written in the Phœnician characters.

Vallancey—Collect. vol. ii. p. 303.

dred years. And were we to form a judgment of the changes which the Carthaginian language underwent in that time, from the great changes which the languages with which we are immediately acquainted have ſuffered, we could not expect to find one line of that which Plautus wrote preciſely and literally the ſame as the antient Phœnician. Thus the poems of Robert of Glouceſter, who wrote about five hundred years ago, are unintelligible at this day, except to the antiquarians in our language. The following is a ſpecimen:

Of þe bataýles of Denemarch, þat hii dude yýs londe
þat worſt were of alle opere, we mote abbe an honde.
Worſt hii were vor opere adde ſumwanne ýdo,
As Romeýns & Saxons, and wel wuſte þat londe þerto.
Ac hii ne kepte ýt holde noȝt, bote robbý, and ſende,
And deſtrue, & berne, & ſle, & ne coupe abbe non ende.

Add

Add then to the changes which time makes in every language, the corruptions which theſe ſpeeches in Plautus muſt have ſuffered from the different tranſcribers, who were ignorant of the language, and from the number of copies through which it has probably paſſed; and we muſt ſuppoſe that it has been tranſmitted to us with many inaccuracies. Accordingly it appears, as might have been expected, that in ſome places in the ſpeeches of Hanno, words have been connected together and run into each other, which ought to have been ſeparated; and in others, that the parts of words have been ſeparated which ought to have been united; and alſo, that there are ſome words, which were probably introduced into the language

language after the emigration of the Carthaginian colony from Phœnicia, and which conſequently are not to be found in the Iriſh vocabularies. To give a ſimilar inſtance, how many words have been introduced into our language within theſe ſix hundred years? How many even within the two laſt centuries? If Robert of Glouceſter were now to riſe out of his tomb, the poems of Milton, and Dryden, and Pope, would, I believe, be in many places unintelligible to him. More ſo to him, than his writings to us, becauſe we have added more than we have thrown away. The Carthaginian language did not probably ſuffer ſo great a change as the Engliſh has done in an equal period, becauſe that nation was not

compoſed

compoſed of ſuch an heterogeneous confluence of nations as the Engliſh; and becauſe, it is not probable, that it was the faſhion for their learned men to ſtudy ſuch a variety of languages as it has been with ours. For if it had been ſo, it is probable that few ſentences in the fragment of Plautus would have been intelligible to the Iriſh ſcholar at this day. For this alſo is to be conſidered, that an allowance is to be made not only for the changes which the Carthaginian language ſuffered, from the time the Carthaginian colony left Phœnicia to the time Plautus wrote, but alſo for the changes which the Iriſh language ſuffered from the time the Iriſh colony emigrated. The Iriſh written language has not, however,

ſuffered

ſuffered ſuch great mutations as might be ſuppoſed in ſuch a lapſe of time: for the Iriſh, in their long ſecluſion from the reſt of the world, varying little in their cuſtoms and their arts, preſerved their antient tongue nearly in its original purity; none of thoſe cauſes operating upon it, which uſually produce a continual change in the languages of nations.

I do not, however, apprehend that theſe ſpeeches in Plautus have ſuffered as much from tranſcribers as ſome have imagined. For, in the firſt place, I think there can be little doubt but that theſe ſpeeches were originally written in the Roman character, not in the Phœnician. The only authority for Plautus' having written them in the Phœnician character is

Gronovius, who ſays it, but does not ſay that he had ever ſeen a manuſcript in which they were ſo written, neither has he given any reaſon whatſoever in ſupport of his aſſertion. I ſuppoſe it to be, therefore, merely a conjecture of his own, and for this reaſon: Plautus wrote in the time of the ſecond Punic war, and it is very certain, from Carthaginian inſcriptions, that the Carthaginians themſelves uſed the Roman characters ſo early as the firſt Punic war. Therefore Plautus, a Roman, and writing for Romans, we muſt ſuppoſe uſed this character. I therefore apprehend that the errors of tranſcribers do not amount to much more than the running of one word into another, or disjoining the parts of the ſame word; which are miſ-

takes

takes likely enough to be made by men who were ignorant of the language, but well acquainted with the character. I am not ſurpriſed that Colonel Vallancey, who, in the ardour of his purſuit, wiſhed perhaps to bring the two languages to an exact conformity, ſhould attribute great corruptions to the ignorance of tranſcribers; in doing which he was depreciating unreaſonably the teſtimony of this valuable record. But without producing ſuch a minute conformity, he has eſtabliſhed his point better. For that there ſhould be ſome words unintelligible, or at leaſt the meaning of which could only be conjectured even by a man of ſuch general knowledge in languages as Colonel Vallancey, is not only to be expected; but no man,

who conſiders the changes which the Phœnician language muſt have ſuffered in ſix hundred years, from the time the Carthaginian colony left Phœnicia to the time Plautus wrote, but muſt think it morally certain, that many new words had crept into the language in that time, and that in ſuch a ſcene as this in Plautus, many ſuch muſt occur. And conſequently the occurrence of ſuch does not at all impeach the evidence of the original identity of the two languages. Colonel Vallancey has accordingly marked the obſolete words, and annexed his conjectures as to their meaning, and the authorities on which they are founded. And whether he has been ſufficiently founded or not in theſe conjectures is of little import. For ſuppoſe that he

he was not right as to the few words which are obſcure, that would not prove that he was wrong as to the many which are evident. I do not therefore ſee the uſe of ſtraining and forcing a minute conformity in every word with the Iriſh, which nothing but a miracle, at ſuch a diſtance of time, could have occaſioned; but think it would be better at once to ſay, ſuch and ſuch words appear to be of modern introduction, and Carthaginian rather than Phœnician, or have periſhed from the Iriſh vocabularies. For conſider this: that if it could be proved, that theſe ſpeeches were letter for letter Iriſh, what would follow? Either that the Carthaginian language underwent no conſiderable change from the time the Carthaginian colony left Phœnicia to the time

time Plautus wrote, which is quite improbable; or that the Iriſh colony was a late emanation from Carthage itſelf, which neither the Iriſh annals, nor any hiſtorical record of any country whatſoever will warrant. And this very minute conformity, inſtead of being a teſtimony in ſupport, would be brought as one moſt deciſive to overthrow the authority of theſe very annals; it being impoſble, if the Iriſh and Carthaginians branched off at remote periods from the parent ſtem of Phœnicia, that there could be ſuch a cloſe and minute coincidence in the two languages, at ſuch a diſtant period from the Carthaginian emigration. It therefore appears to me, that the conformity of the two languages is ſo far perfect, as to eſtabliſh indubitably

their

their original identity, without being ſo minute, as to impeach the truth of our hiſtoric records, and the general inferences which can be deduced from the hiſtories of other countries upon this ſubject. A leſs conformity would prove too little; a greater would prove too much.

I ſhall now give the beginning of Hanno's ſpeech, preciſely letter for letter, as it is in the edition of Plautus publiſhed A. D. 1482, together with Colonel Vallancey's collation of the ſame ſpeech with the Iriſh. The firſt line of every triplet contains the letters, with their collocation and intervals, preciſely as they are printed in the above edition of Plautus. The ſecond line expreſſes them with ſuch intervals as Colonel Vallancey thinks they

they ought to be placed at. And the third line ſhews the words in Iriſh, according to the Iriſh orthography and collocation.

Hanno, a Carthaginian, had two daughters, who, with their nurſe, were carried off by robbers, and ſold to a perſon who brought them to Calydon in Ætolia; having long travelled in queſt of them, he at laſt arrives where they are, and makes the following ſpeech:

I.

Carthaginian, as in Plautus.

Nythalonim ualon uth ſi corathiſſima comſyth

With proper intervals.

Nyth al o nim ua lonuth ſicorathiſſi ma com ſyth

Iriſh.

O all nimh n'iath, lonnaith uath! ſo cruidhſe me com ſith

O mighty Deity of this country, powerful, terrible! quiet me with reſt.

II.

Carthaginian, as in Plautus.

Chim lach chunyth mumys tyal myćthibarii imiſchi

Proper intervals.

Chim lach chunyth mum ys tyal mycthii barii imi ſchi

Iriſh.

Chuinigh lach chimithe; is toil muini beiridh miocht iar mo ſchith

Support of weak captives; be thy will to inſtruct me, to obtain my children after my fatigue.

III. *Carthaginian,*

III.

Carthaginian, as in Plautus.

Lipho canet hyth bymithii ad ædin binuthii

Proper intervals.

Lipho can etyth by mithii ad ædin binuthii

Iriſh.

Can ati liomtha mitche bi beannaithe ad eaden.

Let it come to paſs, that my earneſt prayers be bleſſed before thee.

IV.

Carthaginian, as in Plautus.

Byrnarob ſyllo homalonim uby miſyrthoho

Proper intervals.

Byr nar ob ſyllo homal O nim! ubymis yrthoho

Iriſh.

Bier nar ob ſiladh umhal; O Nim! ibhim a frotha

A fountain denied not to drop to the humble; O Deity, that I may drink of its ſtreams.

V. *Carthaginian,*

V.

Carthaginian, as in Plautus.

Bythlym mothym noctothii nelechanti diaſmachon

Proper intervals.

Byth lym! mo thym nocto thii nel ech an ti dias machon

Iriſh.

Beith liom! mo thime noctaithe niel ach anti daiſie macoinne

Be with me! my fears being diſcloſed, I have no other intention but recovering my daughter.

Theſe are the firſt five lines which Hanno ſpeaks: the two laſt particularly vary in a very few letters from the Phœnician. Now let any one take the quotation I have juſt given from the poem of Robert of Glouceſter,

Glouceſter, and put it into Engliſh, according to the orthography and faſhion of the preſent day, and perhaps there will be found as great a difference between them as here appears between the Carthaginian and the Iriſh. Colonel Vallancey gives the reſt of the ſcene, collated in the ſame manner, in the ſecond volume of the Collect. de Reb. Hib. and the ſame ſimilitude appears throughout. In the third ſcene two Carthaginian lines alſo occur, which are ſo perfectly Iriſh, without altering a letter, that I muſt quote them, to put the identity of theſe languages out of all doubt. Hanno being told that his daughters are at the temple of Venus, ſays,

Carthaginian.

Carthaginian.

Handone ſilli hanum bene ſilli in muſtine.

Iriſh.

Handone ſilli hanum bene[a], ſilli in muſtine.[b]*

Whenever ſhe [Venus] grants a favour, ſhe grants it linked with misfortunes.

And Giddeneme, the nurſe, ſays to Hanno,

Carthaginian.

Meipſi & en eſte dum & a lam na ceſtin um

Iriſh.

Meiſi & an eiſte dam & alaim† na ceſtin um‡

Hear me, and judge, and do not too haſtily queſtion me.

Now what more cloſe conformity could be expected at diſtant periods between

* I muſt obſerve that there are two words in this line ([a],[b]) which are obſolete or unuſual, for the explanation of which ſee the Collectanea.

† Alaim—Out of hand.

‡ This laſt phraſe, "agus alaim na ceſtin um," is common at this day among the Iriſh peaſants, and

between two languages originally the ſame than here appears? or how could it poſſibly happen, if they were not originally the ſame? This, therefore, I conſider an infallible evidence of the primitive identity of the Carthaginian and Iriſh languages; and now, having got this foundation, I ſhall proceed.

The Carthaginian and the Iriſh language then being originally the ſame, either the Carthaginians muſt have been deſcended from the Iriſh, or the Iriſh from the Carthaginians; or they muſt have both iſſued from one common parent country. Now that the Carthaginians were deſcended from

and there is not one of them, that if it were read to him with a proper accent, but could underſtand it.

from the Iriſh no man conceives. Were the Iriſh then deſcended from the Carthaginians? No writer of note has ever ſaid ſo. Nor is there any mention of there ever having been even a mercantile communication between the two nations; or that the Carthaginians had any knowledge of this iſland whatſoever; but there is a very ſtrong preſumption to the contrary, from the ignorance of the Romans both of England and Ireland till the time of Julius Cæſar, and from the paſſage in Ariſtotle already quoted to this very point. Only one ſuppoſition more then remains; namely, that the Carthaginians and the Iriſh were deſcended from one common parent country. Now we know to a certainty, that the Carthaginians were deſcended from the Phœnicians; and

I have

I have ſhewn already, from Greek authorities, that the Phœnicians muſt have had a very early intercourſe with this iſland. Is there then a reaſonable man upon earth who will not rather believe that the Iriſh were a colony from Phœnicia than from Carthage? And that they muſt have been a colony from either the one or the other, the identity of their languages has proved.

It being eſtabliſhed *whence* the Iriſh colony emigrated, the next point to be determined is *when* it emigrated. And this, I think, may be pretty nearly determined by the pagan worſhip of the Iriſh, at the time of the introduction of Chriſtianity into the iſland; I mean by ſuch facts of their worſhip as are undiſputed. That the

the pagan Iriſh worſhipped the ſun and moon, the antient deities of the Phœnicians, and indeed of moſt nations; and that theſe were their principal deities, all writers are agreed. Alſo that they did not worſhip images. Now of this we may be certain that, at the period when Chriſtianity was introduced into Ireland, they worſhipped all the pagan deities that had been worſhipped by their Phœnician anceſtors at the time of their emigration. For though a people, in that ſtate of primitive civilization in which they were, might have added to the number of their deities, we cannot ſuppoſe that they diminiſhed their number: for this would be utterly inconſiſtent with their dark and ſuperſtitious ſtate. Neither, for the ſame reaſon, can

we ſuppoſe, if the Phœnicians had worſhipped images before the emigration of the Iriſh colony, that the Iriſh would not have continued to do ſo. I ſhall not, however, attempt to determine the preciſe inſtant when thoſe Egyptian and Syrian deities, unknown to the pagan Iriſh, were adopted by the Phœnicians; or when preciſely the Phœnician worſhip of images commenced; but merely ſtate, that all writers are agreed, that it was at a very early period, and when the Phœnician hiſtory is in great obſcurity: and therefore, without ſpending more time about it, I ſhall apply to the Iriſh the obſervation of the learned authors of the Antient Univerſal Hiſtory, in their account of the Numidians. They ſay, ſpeaking of the ſun and moon, as being

being the principal deities of the Numidians, " This is a convincing " proof of their high antiquity, as " clearly evincing, that the *migration* " of the firſt colony which peopled " this country preceded the intro- " duction of *image worſhip* into the " pagan world." Another proof of the very early age at which the Iriſh colony emigrated is, that moſt, if not all, of their weapons and inſtruments of war were made of braſs. This is a fact which cannot be denied, as ſo many of them are found frequently in this country *.

* Colonel Vallancey ſays, that the brazen ſwords which are found in Ireland, and thoſe found at Cannæ, which are in the Britiſh Muſeum, and ſuppoſed to be Carthaginian, are of the ſame form, and that the ſubſtance is a compoſition exactly ſimilar.

Nay the little remains that are now to be met with of their antient ſtate of civility, which is often ſtated as an objection againſt their great antiquity, is however a neceſſary conſequence of it; for if they had emigrated from Phœnicia at a late period, they would have brought over the arts in greater maturity, and we ſhould at this day find ſome grand ruins to atteſt their antient ſkill and induſtry. I ſhould therefore, from theſe circumſtances, fix the emigration from Phœnicia at or about the time of Cadmus; certainly, however, antecedent to the Trojan war. For if it had been later, they muſt have brought with them more arts, more deities, and image worſhip.

But

But though the colony emigrated from Phœnicia at ſo early period, it does not thence follow that it then arrived in Ireland. It might have previouſly ſettled in one or many intermediate countries, and ſo, from the events of war, or the ſpirit of colonizing, for which the Phœnicians were remarkable, have moved its ſituation; or ſent forth new colonies from time to time in queſt of new ſettlements, until at laſt a ſettlement was made in Ireland. All, therefore, that we can fix for certain from external authority, the Phœnician records having periſhed, is, that from the ſtate of arts and religion in which this country was found by the firſt miſſionaries of the Goſpel, the colony muſt have left Phœnicia at ſome very early period; certainly previous to the Trojan

Trojan war. It is, however, probable that it arrived at a very early period in Ireland, becauſe Ireland was ſo early known to the Phœnicians, as I have already proved. For it is probable, that the Phœnicians were acquainted with it, and that the colony had ſettled it, many years before Orpheus mentioned it. But as to this point, we can have no certainty immediately from external authorities; and therefore, when arguing from external authorities, as I am at preſent, we can only argue as to the probability of the fact.

Theſe then are the concluſions to which I have arrived. That Ireland was very early known to the Phœnicians; that it was colonized at ſome period or other by them; that the time

time at which the colony emigrated from Phœnicia was before the Trojan war; and that it is more probable, that this colony was ſettled in Ireland before the time of Orpheus than after.

It being eſtabliſhed that the Phœnicians at a very early period colonized Ireland, it follows, as a reaſonable preſumption, that they introduced into Ireland ſuch arts as they were then acquainted with; and that letters, for which they were ſo early famous, were amongſt them. For we cannot believe that the Iriſh, without the uſe of letters, could have preſerved the Phœnician language ſo uncorrupt for ſo many ages, as that it ſhould retain that cloſe conformity to the original, which has appeared upon

upon the compariſon. Beſides, it is much more probable, when one country colonizes another, that the colony ſhould introduce the arts of the parent country, than that it ſhould not. Accordingly we find, that the Iriſh were acquainted with letters at a very early period. Camden ſays, that the Anglo-Saxons ſeem to have received their alphabet from them*. Wormius ſays, that the Icelanders call one of their alphabets Iraletur, or the Iriſh letters †. And I think it very probable

* Anglo-Saxones etiam noſtri illa ætate in Hiberniam tanquam ad bonarum literarum mercaturam undique confluxerunt, &c.—Indeque noſtrates Saxones rationem formandi literas accepiſſe videantur, quum eodem plane charactere uſi fuerint, qui hodie Hibernicis eſt in uſu.

† Johnſon alſo, in his Celt. Scan. p. 14. Antequam Iſlandia a Norvegis inhabitaretur, ibi homines

bable that it will be found, when this ſubject is thoroughly inveſtigated, that all the neighbouring nations received their alphabets through the medium of Ireland.

Various arguments have been publiſhed, founded on the number, form, and order of the letters, both in ſupport of the antiquity of the Iriſh alphabet and againſt it. Such arguments may aſſiſt in deciding on this ſubject, though none of them appear to

nes fuerunt, quos Norvegi Papas vocant, qui religionem Chriſtianam profitebantur, & ab occidente per mare adveniſſe creduntur, ab iis enim relicti libri Hibernici, nolæ, & litui, & res adhuc plures reperiebantur, quæ indicare videbantur illos Veſtmannos fuiſſe. Hæc inventa ſunt in Papeya orientem verſus, & Papyli; libri quoque Anglici, tunc temporis navigationes inter terras (iſtas) increbuiſſe, perhibent.

to be actually deciſive. Inaccuracy of tranſcribers, fancy, and the deſire to keep tranſactions and correſpondences unknown to foreigners, muſt have occaſioned changes formerly in the alphabet of every nation. When the knowledge of letters was confined to a few, and records were but few, the alphabet of a nation was eaſily varied. Not ſo the language. That muſt neceſſarily paſs through its mutations very ſlowly. Laws, faſhions, and the ſword, have not been able to deſtroy entirely the antient language of Ireland; nor could the Conqueror make French the common tongue of Britain. Language is therefore a much better criterion of the extraction of nations, than the number, form or order of their letters. I ſhall therefore but juſt touch on this part of the

the ſubject. Firſt, the number of the Phœnician letters introduced by Cadmus into Greece was, according to ſome, ſixteen, and, according to Ariſtotle, eighteen*. The number in the Iriſh alphabet is ſeventeen Herodotus ſays, that arts, ſciences, and letters, iſſued out of Babylon; and this, according to the Moſaic account, is moſt probable; for whatever memorials of the inventions of man previous to the deluge were preſerved, muſt have been preſerved in the family of Noah; and Babylon, the firſt city founded after the deluge, muſt have been the depoſitory of them. It is probable, therefore, that the Hebrews, Egyptians, Phœnicians,

* Pliny, lib. vii. c. 16.

nicians, &c. had originally the ſame alphabet. It is probable too, that the form of the letters was varied ſooner than the number; becauſe it is eaſier to change the form, and there may be more reaſon to do ſo, ſecrecy being often deſirable. But it is the opinion of ſome very learned men, that the number of the Hebrew letters was antiently but ſeventeen, which is juſt the number of the Iriſh.

Of the form of the Phœnician letters introduced by Cadmus into Greece we are now quite ignorant. Neither is it known what the form was which was uſed in Phœnicia at the time when the Iriſh ſay that they emigrated from that country. The Greeks changed the form of their

their letters; for when Ageſilaus deſtroyed the tomb of Alcmena, none of the Greeks at that time could read the inſcription which was found there*. And Diodorus Siculus ſays, that Linus, Orpheus, and Muſæus, wrote in the antient character. The Carthaginians too, between the firſt and ſecond Punic war, laid aſide the Phœnician character, and adopted the Roman, as appears by their inſcriptions. Since then the Greeks and the Carthaginians, whoſe original alphabets were certainly Phœnician, laid aſide that character, and adopted characters quite different, why may not the Iriſh have had the Phœnician character originally, and have changed it

* Plutarch de Socratis genio. p. 578.

it alſo? The Phœnician characters, however, occur ſometimes in the antient Iriſh manuſcripts. And the antient Iriſh numerals are ſaid to be preciſely the ſame as ſome Phœnician numerals*. But St. Patrick, it is related, introduced the Roman alphabet here†, which was ſoon univerſally ſubſtituted for the Phœnician. This he did to facilitate the progreſs of the Iriſh in learning Latin, and in reading the ſacred books written in that language. Mr. Beauford has publiſhed the antient alphabet of the Iriſh, called the Bobeloth character, and a compariſon between it and the antient Phœnician, together with ſeveral

* Collect. de Reb. Hibern. v. 5. p. 183.

† Sanctus Patricius ſcripſit Abietoria 365 et eo amplius numero. Nennius. 59.

veral Iriſh inſcriptions now extant, in confirmation of their original identity; and he ſays, that by "theſe "we are impowered to aſſert, that "the Iriſh Druids had not only the "method of committing their doc-"trine and learning to writing, but "that the characters and letters made "uſe of for this purpoſe bear not "only a great affinity to thoſe of the "antient Phœnicians, Carthaginians "and Egyptians, but in ſeveral in-"ſtances are exactly the ſame, as "may be ſeen by comparing them "with the characters and inſcrip-"tions on the Bembine and Rameſ-"ſæan tables*."

The order of the letters in any alphabet may be ſo eaſily changed, that I do

* Collect. de Reb. Hibern. v. ii. p. 171.

I do not think it worth while to ſpend much time upon this circumſtance; eſpecially, as the order of the antient Phœnician alphabet is unknown, its characters having been only collected from inſcriptions. The Iriſh alphabet begins with the letters B, L, N, whence it is called Bethluiſnion, the names of theſe letters being Beth, Luis, Nion; juſt as the word alphabet is formed from the two firſt letters with the Greeks, Alpha, Beta. If the Iriſh had not the uſe of letters before St. Patrick introduced them, it is almoſt certain that he would have introduced the ſame number, and in the ſame order, and by the ſame names, as uſed by the Latins; nor can theſe differences be reaſonably accounted for, but by ſuppoſing an antecedent alphabet, and that he only changed

changed the characters. It is remarkable, that in the Iriſh alphabet the vowels are placed laſt, after all the conſonants; and in this, it is ſaid, it agrees with no other alphabet but the antient Lybian, which was certainly Phœnician *.

It may be objected, that if the Iriſh had received their letters from the Phœnicians, they would, like the Phœnicians, have written from right to left; and probably they did ſo originally. There is no doubt that the Greeks received their letters from the Phœnicians; and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that in the time of Cadmus they wrote from right to left,

* Collect. de Reb. Hibern. v. ii. p. 194.

as the Phœnicians. Yet ſo early as in the time of Herodotus, we know that the Greeks wrote from left to right; for he, ſpeaking of the Egyptians, mentions it as an extraordinary peculiarity, that they ſhould write the contrary way *. The Iriſh alſo might antiently have written from right to left, and changed as the Greeks did. Some of the Iriſh inſcriptions at New Grange are written from right to left, and from left to right, alternately; as are ſeveral of the old Iriſh manuſcripts. This manner was called by the Greeks *Bouſtrophedon*, becauſe it reſembled the courſe of the plough, and by the Iriſh *the reapers path* †.

The

* Herod. lib. ii. c. 36.

† *Cor fa chaſn*, alſo *cionn fa eite*, the head of the ridge.—Vallancey, Col. v. ii. p. 326.

The Iriſh, as the Egyptians, had a ſacred character, as well as the popular, or prophane. The ſacred character is called Ogham. It reſembles much the characters at Perſepolis *. There are many inſcriptions in this character on ſtone ſtill legible †.

Laſtly, as to the ſubſtance upon which the antient Iriſh wrote. Sometimes they engraved a few ſentences upon rude ſtones, to commemorate a

* See Monſ. Gebelin, Origine de l'Ecriture, v. ii.—Alſo Monſ. Bailly, " Les caracteres Irlandois appellés *Ogham*, ne conſiſtent que dans " l'unité répétée cinq fois, & dont la valeur " change, ſuivant la manière dont elle eſt paſſée, " relativement à une ligne fictive. Ils ont beaucoup de rapport avec ceux de Perſepolis."—Lettres d'Atlantide, p. 458.

† Beauford. Collect. de Rebus Hiber. v. ii. p. 195.

deceaſed hero, or to expreſs a myſtery of their religion. The antient Greeks alſo built their temples and monuments to the dead, of rude ſtones. "Ariadne, Battus, Atlas, Alcmena, "and others, were enſhrined in tem-"ples ſtyled *Petra*, and had rude pil-"lars erected to their honour*." At Pharæ in Achaia were thirty large ſtones, each conſidered as the repreſentative of ſome deity. And before the introduction of images, ſuch rude ſtones were univerſally worſhipped by the Greeks. But it was on tables of wood that the antient Iriſh principally wrote. They were called *Oraium*, and the letters were called *Feadha*, that is, woods, from the ſubſtance on which

* Bryant, v. ii. Τιμας θεων αντι αγαλματων ειχον αργους λιθους. Pauſan, lib. vii. p. 579.

which they were written. Theſe tables were made of beech; and as it is very probable, for many more reaſons than that aſſigned by Camden, that the Engliſh received their letters from the Iriſh, ſo they alſo antiently wrote upon tables of the ſame material; for the Engliſh word *book* comes from the Saxon *boc*, *buec*, a *beech* tree. The Phœnicians and Jews alſo wrote on tables of wood, as did the Greeks * and Romans †. Thus have I juſt touched upon the principal circumſtances reſpecting the Iriſh alphabet. Many more might be mentioned; but theſe, I truſt, are ſufficient to evince its profound antiquity; and will,

* Vita Solon. p. 92.

† Leges incidere ligno. Horace.

will, I hope, confirm what I have already ſtated, in proof of the Iriſh having had the uſe of letters, not only antecedent to the introduction of Chriſtianity into their iſland, but at a much more remote period.

It is recorded of the Phœnicians, and univerſally credited, that they preſerved the hiſtory of paſt events with a religious care; "and ſuch "was their precaution," ſays Joſephus, "leſt the memory of their "tranſactions ſhould periſh, that their "wiſeſt men always *ſacredly preſerved* "*them* in public records *." So that they

* τα μεν τοι παρα Αιγυπτιοις, και Χαλδαιοις και ΦΟΙΝΙΞΙΝ, εω γαρ νυν ημας εκεινοις συγκαταλεγειν, αυτοι [Ελληνες] δηπυθεν ὁμολογυσιν αρχαιοτατην τε και μονιμωτατην εχειν της μνημης την παραδοσιν· και γαρ τοπυς ἁπαντις οικυσιν, ηκιςα ταις εκ τω περιεχοντος

they kept a moſt accurate regiſter of the moſt antient events. Not from any vain motive of pride; but becauſe it was enjoined by their *religious inſtitutions*. The preſumption then is, that the Iriſh colony from Phœnicia did, with the *letters* and *religion* of their anceſtors, bring with them ſuch records; and that they alſo religiouſly preſerved them. For it is more likely that theſe ſimple and primitive cuſtoms, eſpecially when at all involved with religion, ſhould be preſerved by a colony removing to diſtant countries, than that they ſhould not. Accordingly we find, that this Phœnician cuſtom agrees with what all the antient

περιεχοντος φθοραις ὑποκειμενης, και πολλην εποιησαντο προνοιαν, τω μηδεν αμνησον των παρ αυτοις πραττομενων παραλιπειν, αλλ' εν δημοσιαις αναγραφαις ὑπο των σοφωτατων αει καθιερωσθαι.

Joſephus. con. Apionem. l. i. c. 2.

tient Iriſh writers relate of the original inſtitutions of their nation. With this reaſonable preſumption then in favour of the Iriſh having preſerved ſome memory of the paſt events of their antient hiſtory, let us now proceed to examine ſome of the principal facts which it contains, and ſee how far they coincide with what has been already eſtabliſhed; noting alſo ſuch collateral evidence as may occur by the way.

The traditions of the people, who inhabited Ireland antecedent to the arrival of the colony under Heber and Heremon from Spain, may not be altogether unworthy of notice; but in this brief work I muſt paſs them by. I will therefore confine myſelf to the hiſtory of what is uſually called the Spaniſh

Spaniſh or Miletian colony; its origin in Aſia, and its progreſs thence, 'till it ſettled finally in Ireland.

Let it firſt be recollected, that the hiſtory, until the colony leaves Phœnicia, is properly Phœnician, and not Iriſh, and then, perhaps, it will not be altogether ſo unpalatable. The Iriſh and Moſaic accounts of the creation of the world, and the hiſtory of the human race, are in ſubſtance the ſame until the third generation from Noah. Therefore ſo far the Iriſh account cannot be queſtioned. Here they ſeparate. The Iriſh ſay, that they are deſcended from Magog, the ſon of Japhet, the ſon of Noah. Moſes does not name any of the ſons of Magog. The Iriſh ſay * that he had

* Keating.

had three, Baath, Jobhath, and Fathocta; and then there is a chaſm in their hiſtory from Baath to Phenius, who was cotemporary with Moſes. They ſay that Phenius was the king of their country, and they call it Scythia. Now to eſtabliſh theſe facts.

Joſephus, ſpeaking of the peopling of the world after the flood, ſays, "that Magog eſtabliſhed a colony, "and that the people were from "him called Magogians, but by themſelves Schytians *. This then, word for word, agrees with the Iriſh account. Now let me aſk here, how did the chronologers or minſtrels of Ireland know, that Magog was the anceſtor of

* Μαγωγης δε τες απ' αυτε Μαγωγας ονομασθεντας ωκισε, Σκυθας δε υπ' αυτων προσαγορευομενες. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 6.

of the Scythians? Did they underſtand Greek, and read Joſephus?

The name of the country they ſay was Scythia, and they call themſelves Scythians, yet ſometimes they call themſelves Pheni, or Phœnicians. Let us examine theſe ſeeming inconſiſtencies. The Spaniſh writers, and many of our moderns, fix the ſite of the anceſtors of the Iriſh between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, becauſe by the Greek and Roman geographers that region is made the principal territory of the Scythians. But the number of Scythian nations was very great. Some have enumerated fifty*, in various countries, and ſpeaking various languages, who might all have

* Timonax. Bryant. vol. iii. p. 135.

have been of the poſterity of Magog *. Some of them the moſt barbarous, others the moſt civilized of their time. It is neceſſary therefore to fix with ſome preciſion the ſite of the Scythian nation, from whom the Iriſh ſay that they were deſcended. And as they deduce their lineage from Magog, let us enquire into the ſituation of his territory. Now, Sir Walter Raleigh has proved, from the 38th chapter of Ezechiel, that it was juſt

* The Scythian name is very antient. There is no tradition of its origin: but it originated ſo early after the flood, that from the flood to the commencement of the Grecian hiſtory, is in general termed the Scythian age, as that preceding the flood is called the Barbaric.

Απο δε τυ κλιματος τυ προς Ευρωπην ει; Ασιαν κεκλικοτες, επωνομασθησαν παντες κατα την χροιυ επικλησιν Σκυθαι· κτιζυσι δε την Πυργοποιϊαν, και οικοδομυσι την Βαβυλωνα.

Epiphanius, l. i. p. 6. Adver. Heres.

juſt on the north of Phœnicia, and either a part of, or immediately next to the country which was afterwards ſo called. " And ſo," ſays he in this chapter, " are thoſe nations coupled " together, which infeſted the Iſrael- " ites after their return, and ſought " to ſubject them: all which were " the ſubjects or allies of Gog, prince " of the *Magogians*, or Cæleſyrians, " next bordering on Paleſtina, or the " Holy Land." Further, on the north of Phœnicia, on the river Singas, near the Euphrates, is the town of Hierapolis, or Bambyce. Now, Pliny ſays, " that Bambyce, otherwiſe called " Hierapolis, is by the Syrians called " *Magog* *." This was probably the town

* Cœle habet Apamiam, Marſya amne diviſam a Nazerinorum tetrarchia; Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero *Magog*.

Plin. l. v. c. 23.

town where Magog ſettled, travelling from Babylon along the Euphrates; as it was by the banks of rivers, before countries were cleared of their foreſts, that emigrating colonies made their way; and from this it is moſt probable, that this Scythian nation extended itſelf in proceſs of time to the ſea coaſt and the north part of Phœnicia. Some * have thought that it was an error in Pliny to ſay Magog, and that it ſhould have been *Mahog*. But the authority of Ezekiel is ſufficient to place Magog and his poſterity where Raleigh has placed it, viz. at the north of Paleſtine; and it is much more probable that they ſhould ſettle there, than that they ſhould remove ſo

* Dr. Hyde. In notis ad Periſtol. Itiner. p. 42.—And Aſſemani, Bib. Oriental, v. ii. ad vocem Mabug.

ſo far as to the Caſpian ſea and Mount Caucaſus. It is a ſtrange fancy in many learned writers, to ſuppoſe that the firſt men after the flood, when they were ſo much in need of mutual aid, ſhould have inhabited countries far remote from each other; as if they were ſuddenly carried to wild and diſtant regions. Harduinus, in his notes on this paſſage of Pliny *, does not doubt that the word ſhould be Magog; and Bochart confirms it by

* Paris edition, 1723. His words are, Magog, a filio Japheth, nomen id hodieque ſervare dicitur. Ut autem apud Plinium civitas una e primariis Syriæ Cœles Magog appellata fuiſſe dicitur, ſic apud Ezechielem, cap. 38. Gog, terra Magog gens ipſa Cœles Syriæ eſt, oriunda a Magog filio Japhet.—And Bochart ſays, Urbis vel regionis Magog in *Syria* meminit Rabbi Moſes filius Maimon in Halicoth therumoth.

Boch. 3. l. c. 1. ſ. 9.

by the authority of Rabbi Moſes. We do not now know the exact bounds of Phœnicia, or Cœleſyria, or any of theſe countries. The antient geographers differ greatly. Much leſs do we know the bounds of the territories of the Magogians and the Canaanites. But the ſouthern part of the country, afterwards called Phœnicia, was originally called Canaan, from Canaan the ſon of Ham; and the northern part, the territory of Magog. And, according to Joſephus, the kingdom of Tyre in Phœnicia was founded by Thiras, the brother of Magog.

At what time the country called Phœnicia received that name is now a ſubject of mere conjecture, and about which there has been a diverſity of opinions. But, that it was long

long after the period I have been ſpeaking of, all conjectures agree. Sir Iſaac Newton ſays, that the Erythreans, who fled from David, ſettled in great numbers in Phœnicia, and by calling themſelves Phœnicians in the language of Syria, inſtead of Erythreans, both names having the ſame ſignification, gave the name Phœnicia to all the ſea coaſt. Others have ſuppoſed it had its name from a Greek word, φοινικες, which ſignifies palm trees, which are ſaid to abound there. Ariſtotle otherwiſe derives it from Greek; and therefore, according to all of theſe opinions, the name muſt have been impoſed ſubſequent to the time of Cadmus: others again derive it from Phœnix, the brother of Cadmus, who was king of that country; and the Iriſh ſay it had its name

from Phenius, who was king of it, when they emigrated. Some, therefore, have ſuppoſed that Phœnix and Phenius were the ſame perſon. But all chronological calculations concerning this early period are ſo uncertain, the ableſt writers differing to the amount of ſeveral centuries about the time when Cadmus and Phœnix lived, that it is in vain to attempt to aſcertain this point, though there ſeems to be ſome foundation for the conjecture. When Sir Iſaac Newton makes Cadmus emigrate into Greece in the year before Chriſt 1042, and other chronologers about fifteen hundred years before Chriſt, how can we hope to form any ſatisfactory concluſion, which is to depend upon the chronology of this period? Suffice it then to ſay, that there are theſe coincidences; the Greeks ſay, that there was a king of

that

that country who was called Phœnix, the Iriſh Phenius; the one, that from him the people were called Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians Pœni; the other, that from him they were called Pheni *. In fine, the Iriſh ſay

 that

* Bœotia was antiently called *Ogygia*; and one of the gates of its capital, Thebes, the city built by Cadmus, was called by that name in the time of Pauſanias. And Plutarch calls Ireland Ogygia. "Now Pintus on Ezechiel, addeth, ſays Raleigh, that Magog is as much as to ſay Gog, the letter M being a Hebrew prepoſition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*," and ſo it is in the Iriſh language at this day, ſignifying *deſcended from*, or *the ſon of*. And Gog, and Gyges, and Ogyges, from whence comes Ogygia, ſeem all to have been originally the ſame name. Junius ſays that Gog is the name of a nation, denominated from him whom the Greek ſtories call Ogyges. The gate of the town built by Cadmus, being thus called Ogygia; Ireland alſo being called Ogygia; the Iriſh ſaying they are deſcended from Magog, a name of the ſame original as Gyges and Ogygia, and coming from the ſame country whence Cadmus came; are coincidences perhaps worthy of noticing. Ogam is the name of the ſacred alphabet

that they emigrated in the time of Phenius, which, according to the Iriſh hiſtory,

alphabet of the Iriſh, and ſignifies letters, learning, language, wiſdom. And, as Colonel Vallancey obſerves, Cadmus erected a temple in Bœotia to Oga, as the Goddeſs of Wiſdom,

Λαϊνῳ ΟΓΚΑΙΗΣ ελελιζετο δωμῳ Αθηνης
Ὁν ποτε Καδμῳ εδειμεν. Nonn. Dionyſ. l. 44.

ΟΓΚΑ, η Αθηνα κατα Φοινικας.
Euphorion in Stephen of Byſantium.

ΟΓΚΑ Αθηνα εν Θηβαις. Heſychius.—And thus Æſchylus, in the Siege of Thebes, the city founded by Cadmus, introduces the chorus ſaying,

Εν μαχαισι τε μακαι.
ῥ᾽ανασς᾽ ΟΓΚΑ προ πολεως
Επταπυλον εδος επιρρυσ. l. 169.

And again, Ογκας Αθανας. l. 493. And Ογκα Παλλας. l. 507.

And Lacedemon erected another temple of the ſame kind, which Monſ. Fourmont diſcovered. It was of rude ſtones, and on it this inſcription, ΔΓΑΙ, that is, Ogai, or, To Oga.

And the Ogam inſcription on Coman's tomb, on Mount Callan, in the county Clare, has it Oca. The line in Iriſh is as follows:

Adm bo ſocc ag Loc ſan *Oca* cifa dil naf.

In Engliſh,—" Long let him lie on the brink of " this

hiſtory, was two generations before Moſes; conſequently, it was about the time of, or ſome time after their departure, that the country was called Phœnicia, according to every conjecture concerning the origin of that name.

" this lake, beneath this Ogham, favourite of the " Sacred."

Tranſ. R. Iriſh Academy, vol. i. Antiq. p. 9.

Conan died A. D. 295. The peaſants in the neighbouring country have many curious traditions about his tomb. An antient Iriſh poem, which led to the diſcovery of his monument, ſays, that he was treacherouſly ſlain by the Feni at an aſſembly met to worſhip the Sun, and that his name is inſcribed in Ogham characters on a flat ſtone on the black mountain of Callan—

Sta ainim *Ogam* air lic blaith, i ſliabh comh-dubh Callain.

I have already ſhewn that Hierapolis was a principal city of the Magogians, and part of the kingdom whence the Iriſh came. That it was a part of the kingdom whence Cadmus came appears from this, that his ſiſter Europa, according to Lucian de Dea Syria, was there worſhipped. Speaking of the ſtatue in the temple there, he ſays, ὡς δε μοι τις των ἱερων απηγειτο, Ευρωπης εϛι της Καδμυ αδελφης.

name. And therefore, in their antient records, they call their country and themſelves, by their antient appellation, Scythia and Scythians. Pheni is an appellation more rarely uſed by them; as if, according to their own accounts, it had been a name but juſt impoſed as they were leaving the country, and to which they had not been habituated. And here it is obſervable, how this circumſtance of their perſevering in calling their anceſtors by their antient name of Scythians, and mentioning, that juſt at the time of their departure, that of Pheni was firſt given, coincides with their account of the great antiquity of their emigration; and how the ſtate of their arts and religion correſponds with this alſo. Whereas, if it was the fabricated tale of half-learned men of the fifth or ſixth centuries,

would

would they not have made the name of the country invariably Phœnicia, and of the people Phœnicians? Their accounts may be inaccurate, but they have no appearance of being feigned.

They next ſtate, that they emigrated in a colony, which was commanded by Niul, younger ſon to Phenius, and that they ſettled in Egypt, on the banks of the Red Sea. According to the earlieſt memorials of Phœnicia, there was a great intercourſe between it and Egypt. Some ſay, that Agenor, the father of Phœnix, had been himſelf an Egyptian: and Belus, who was king of Egypt, was either brother or father to Agenor. Herodotus ſays*, "that the "Phœnicians

* Ουτοι δε οι Φοινικες το παλαιον οικεον (ως αυτοι λεγουσι) επι τη Ερυθρη θαλασσῃ. Herod. l. vii. c. 89.

" Phœnicians (as they themſelves " ſay) formerly dwelt near the Red " Sea." Did the Iriſh annaliſts read Herodotus, as well as Joſephus, or whence do theſe coincidences ariſe? Some have imagined from this paſſage in Herodotus, that the whole Phœnician nation once inhabited the banks of the Red Sea; but this is not warranted, I believe, by any other memorial of the Phœnicians; beſides, it is in itſelf a very improbable event, and therefore I think that there was only a colony of the Phœnicians there. But a remarkable tranſaction, which the Iriſh annals mention to have happened during the time that this colony was ſettled on the banks of the Red Sea, has in the opinion of many thrown a diſcredit on their whole hiſtory. I mean the paſſage

of

of the Iſraelites, and the deſtruction of Pharoah, while they reſided there. Now if, in the firſt place, this was, as ſome have ſuppoſed, an interpolation of the Iriſh monks, it would be unreaſonable upon that account to reject the reſt of the hiſtory. But let the fact be examined. The learning and indefatigable induſtry of Colonel Vallancey have produced authorities in ſupport of theſe paſſages, which I ſhall juſt touch upon, but which merit to be minutely ſcrutinized by thoſe who have learning and leiſure for ſuch a taſk. Firſt, then, let me obſerve, that if you allow the Iriſh to have had any record of thoſe times, the having made mention of Moſes and the Iſraelites, ought not to invalidate their hiſtory? No one doubts the authenticity of thoſe fragments

fragments that remain of the hiſtories of Dius the Phœnician, or Menander the Epheſian, becauſe they mention Solomon; or of Beroſus, becauſe he ſpeaks of Nebuchodonoſor; or of Manetho or Chæremon, though they alſo name Moſes. It is he who is uſed to meet theſe names only in the Bible that revolts from the Iriſh hiſtory, becauſe it mentions ſome of them. But to proceed. The Iriſh annaliſts ſay, that this Phœnician colony was ſettled in Egypt, near the Red Sea, when Moſes and the Iſraelites paſſed through it. They relate alſo, that the name of the place where they were ſettled on the banks of the Red Sea, was Caperchiroth; and that it was there that the Iſraelites paſſed through it. But the place where the Iſraelites

paſſed

paſſed is, in Scripture, called Pihachiroth, not Caperchiroth. Thus the accounts ſeem to differ; but this difference unfolds a ſtrong teſtimony in ſupport of the authenticity of the Iriſh records. For Chiroth was the name of the country, and Piha ſignifies a port, and Caper a town*. Moſes therefore ſays, that the Iſraelites

* כפר Caper, in Chaldee, is a town, village, or ſettlement (pagus) and the name of the place where Moſes paſſed the Red Sea, was Chiroth.—Exod. c. xiv. v. 2. "Turn and encamp before Pihachiroth, between Migdol and the ſea." Numb. xxxiii. v. 8. "And they departed before Pihachiroth, and paſſed through the midſt of the ſea." This place was on the borders of Egypt, and in the Scriptures is always written פי־החירת Pihachiroth, i. e. the *oſtium* of *Chiroth*. *Hhiroth*, *Iroth*, vel *Chiroth*, locus deſerti ad quem venerunt Iſrael filii mare tranfretantes. Pihachiroth, στομα Ειραθ, Os Iroth. Hieronym. Euſeb.

Vallancey, Collect. vol. iv. part ii. p. 275.

ites paſſed the Red Sea at Pihachiroth, that is, at the *port* of *Chiroth*; and the Iriſh writers ſay, that the Iſraelites paſſed at Caperchiroth, that is, at the *town* of *Chiroth*. Therefore theſe accounts really differ no more, than if one author ſhould ſay, that the Engliſh firſt landed in Ireland at the *town* of Wexford, and another, that they landed at the *port* of Wexford. Now ſurely, if this part of the Iriſh annals was a fabrication by our early Chriſtians, they would have given the place the ſame name, letter for letter, as in the Scripture, and called it Pihachiroth. But further: The Iriſh writers ſay, that this Phœnician colony ſupplied the Iſraelites with *proviſions*, and then moved *lower down* the Red Sea with their *ſhips*.

Now

Now Rabbi Simon, who lived two hundred years before Chriſt, ſays, that the Canaanites, that is, the Phœnicians *, gave *proviſions* to the Iſraelites. " And becauſe theſe Ca-
" naan ſhips gave Iſrael of their *pro-*
" *viſions*, God would not deſtroy their
" *ſhips*, but with an eaſt wind carried
" them *far down the Red Sea* †."
Here the Iriſh account exactly accords with the Rabbi's; yet no man can ſuppoſe that the Iriſh authors knew any thing of Rabbi Simon's writings; nor can the coincidence be otherwiſe accounted for, than by ſuppoſing that the Rabbi had his account from the Jewiſh

* That Phœnicia, or the greater part of it, was originally called Canaan, and hence all the Phœnicians, Canaanites, is undiſputed.

† Liber. Zoar. p. 87. Vallancey, ibid.

Jewiſh traditions, and the Iriſh their account from their anceſtors; and both coinciding thus, that both were true.

It is not my deſign, in this ſhort treatiſe, to do more than eſtabliſh ſome of the main facts of the Iriſh hiſtory. I ſhall not, therefore, follow the Phœnicians through all their various adventures, but merely ſtate, that they relate *, that they were expelled afterwards from Caperchiroth by the grandſon of Pharoah, who was drowned in the Red Sea; that they returned to their native country, and remained there ſeven years; that in conſequence of ſome diſſentions, they left it again; that after ſome adventures,

* See Keating.

adventures, they ſettled in an iſland called Guthia, where they continued for about two or three centuries. I ſhould rather think, if I may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, that Guthia, which Colonel Vallancey ſuppoſes to be Sicily, was Gades *. After

* Colonel Vallancey, on this word, ſays, Collect. vol. iv. part ii. p. 280. *Gaoth*, *Guith*, or *Gutha*, in Iriſh, ſignifies lands by the ſea ſide covered at high water, and from which the tide retires; in Engliſh, ſalt marſhes, &c. I mention this on account of its coincidence in deſcription with a place the Phœnicians uſed to ſail to from Gades, according to Ariſtotle, Λεγυσι, τυς Φοινικας τυς κατοικυντας τα Γαδειρα καλυμενα, εξω πλεοντας Ηρακλειων ςηλων απηλιωτη ανεμω ἡμερας τετταρας, παραγινεσθαι εις τινας τοπυς ερημυς ὑδυ και φυκυς πληρεις· ὡς, ὁταν μεν αμπωτις ἡ [μη] ϐαπτιζεσθαι. ὁταν δε πλημμυρα, κατακλυζεσθαι.

De Mirab. Auſc. p. 1165.

As Colonel Vallancey makes Gaoth and Gutha the ſame, I ſhould rather think Gaoth meant Gades, the d being pronounced like th. Gaoth, Gades, and Gadeira. It is called in the Iriſh language, the

ter this they eſtabliſhed a colony on the coaſt of Spain, and thence emigrated into Ireland. Spain having been ſo often laid waſte and ravaged by war, affords no memorials of the times I have been writing of; we cannot, therefore, expect from the Spaniſh hiſtorians any ſatisfactory confirmations of the Phœnician ſettlement on her weſtern ſhore, ſave ſome antient traditions, and the well known fact of the Phœnician colony at Gades.

It

" the weſtern iſland, Guthia, which lies near a " *frith* or *narrow ſea*, that extends *northwards*." This very well anſwers the deſcription of Gades by the antient geographers; and the eſtabliſhment of a Phœnician colony there is a fact which every author who ſpeaks of this iſland mentions.—Inſula a continente ſeptingentis paſſibus ſeparatur, quam Tyrii, a *rubro profecti mari*, Erythræam, Pæni lingua ſua Gadir, id eſt, ſepem nominarunt.

Solinus, c. 23. Hiſp.

It is not my deſign to examine here minutely the arguments of thoſe writers who deny the ſettlement of the Phœnician colony in Ireland, and who repreſent all the annals recording it as fictions; for to do ſo would protract this work unneceſſarily, it being ſufficient, to examine the ſources from which they draw their concluſions to prove the fallacy of them. Theſe are of two kinds:—Either external or internal; that is, either from the records of other countries, or from the records of the Iriſh themſelves. And here let me obſerve, in order to abridge this controverſy in future, that it is impoſſible that any deciſive proof can be obtained from the records of other countries, againſt the eſtabliſhment of the Phœnician colony in Ireland. For, in the firſt place,

the Phœnician records, from which the moſt deciſive teſtimony on this ſubject might have been expected, have all periſhed: The ſame fate has alſo attended the Carthaginian: The antient Greek writers knew nothing of Ireland, except what they learned from the Phœnician, and there is not a ſyllable in their works againſt it. The Roman writers can afford no evidence on the ſubject whatſoever, ſince both England and Ireland were utterly unknown to the Romans until the time of Julius Cæſar, which was about a thouſand years poſterior to the eſtabliſhment of the colony; and as to the neighbouring nations, they had not the uſe of letters in thoſe times, or at leaſt have not any record now reſpecting them. I therefore ſay, that it is utterly impoſſible,

from

from external authorities, to impeach the antient annals of Ireland. A few Greek and Roman authors however, who wrote after the invaſion of Britain by Julius Cæſar, and who have ſpoken of the Iriſh as barbarians, have often been quoted as evidences againſt the antient hiſtory of Ireland. General invectives againſt nations ſhould ſeldom be much attended to. The Iriſh certainly were in a ſtate of civility very much inferior to that of the Romans when Cæſar invaded Britain: neither do the antient annals of Ireland repreſent them as otherwiſe. This, therefore, does not prove theſe annals to be fictions; nor does it at all impeach the credit of the Phœnician ſettlement. Though Strabo repreſents the Iriſh as barbarians, and Diodorus

Siculus as ſavages and anthropophagi; and though Mela ſays, that they were ignorant of every virtue; and Solinus, that they were inhoſpitable and inhuman; ſuppoſe I were to admit all this, what would it prove? Might not the Iriſh, nevertheleſs, have been deſcended, or in part deſcended, from a Phœnician colony, which ſettled in Ireland ſeveral centuries before theſe authors wrote? Might not the Iriſh, in that long proceſs of time, by their own internal wars, have degenerated, inſtead of improved? Would any argument from the morals or civility of the people, when theſe authors wrote, be deciſive as to the morals or civility of the people a thouſand years before, or five hundred years, or even three hundred years before? Though all

that

that theſe writers ſay were true, might not the Iriſh nevertheleſs have had very early the uſe of letters? Might they not have preſerved the memory of paſt events? Might they not have laws and inſtitutions, of which even the ſavage tribes of Indians are not wholly deſtitute? And having the uſe of letters, might they not have preſerved their laws and memorials from age to age? In ſhort, there is nothing incompatible between the Iriſh annaliſts and the repreſentations of theſe writers, admitting all their aſperſions. But ſince theſe authors are ſo few, and unſupported by other writers about the ſame period; ſince they never viſited the iſland themſelves; ſince they do not even ſay that they received their

accounts

accounts from any perſons who did*; ſince the Romans who conquered Britain, through whom they probably ſought for information, never ſet a foot upon Iriſh ground, and were therefore quite unacquainted with the internal manners and polity of the people; ſurely it muſt be a very illiberal, as well as a very illogical mind, which can give much weight to ſuch teſtimonies, and deduce from them ſuch concluſions.

Thus, I ſay, the antient hiſtory of Ireland never can be refuted by external authorities. But an attempt was made, ſome time ago, to prove it falſe,

* Strabo expreſsly ſays, that what he related of the manners of the Iriſh was not ſupported by any reputable teſtimony.

falſe, by the publication of poems, which were ſaid to be tranſlations from compoſitions in the Erſe language by an antient poet of Scotland, but which have ſince been proved to be Iriſh poems, but much altered by the tranſlator; in many places augmented, in other mutilated, and almoſt every where corrupted. This publication, therefore, deſerves particularly to be noticed. For if there were found material contradictions, or even great incongruities, in the Iriſh accounts, they muſt be abandoned as fictions: as on the contrary, a perfect agreement between their writers in all ages, which I believe any candid examiner will diſcover; an agreement not merely of their annaliſts among themſelves, but alſo of their legiſlators and bards, in repreſenting their hiſtoric facts conſiſtently,

ently, and at the ſame time deſcribing the manners and cuſtoms of the people in perfect conformity to theſe, muſt afford a deciſive and irreſiſtible proof of the authenticity of their relations.

Mr. Mc. Pherſon, in his celebrated publications of the poems of Oſſian, has made the attempt I have juſt alluded to, and which a few words will defeat. In the year 1784 the Rev. Doctor Young, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, a man of profound erudition, and an ardent lover of truth, made an excurſion to Scotland, and there collected ſeveral of the Erſe poems from which Mr. Mc. Pherſon formed his Fingal, Temora, &c. Some of theſe poems Doctor Young has publiſhed, with tranſlations and notes,

notes, in the volume of the Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy for the year 1787; in his preliminary obſervations, to which he ſays, " Mr. " Mc. Pherſon is by many ſuppoſed " to be the ſole and original author " of the compoſitions which he has " publiſhed as tranſlations of the " works of Oſſian; this charge I am " enabled to refute, at leaſt in part, " having fortunately met with the " originals of ſome of them. Mr. " Mc. Pherſon, I acknowledge, has " taken very great liberties with them; " retrenching, adding and altering as " he judged proper: but we muſt " admit that he has diſcovered great " ingenuity in theſe variations. I " muſt allow he is liable to cenſure " for having altered the date of his " originals, as well as their matter

" and

" and form, having given them a " much higher antiquity than they " are really entitled to. On this " ground it is that he ſtudiouſly ſup- " preſſes all mention of Saint Patrick, " whoſe name frequently occurs in " theſe poems, and only occaſionally " alludes to him under the character " of a Culdee, or one of the firſt " Chriſtian miſſionaries into this coun- " try; for any mention of Saint Pa- " trick would have induced us to ſuſ- " pect, that perhaps theſe poems were " not in truth the compoſitions of " Oſſian, but of thoſe Fileas, who in " later times committed to verſe the " traditional relations of his exploits." Doctor Young afterwards gives ſeveral poems, " tranſcribed letter for letter " from the copies now current in the " Highlands, except ſo far as they

" have

" have been corrected by the edition " lately publiſhed at Perth." I ſhall now ſelect only a few of the inſtances which Doctor Young notices of the alterations in theſe poems by Mr. Mc. Pherſon. On one of the poems, entitled, " The invaſion of Ireland by " Erragon," from which Mr. Mc. Pherſon has taken his battle of Lora, Doctor Young obſerves, " Mr. Mc. " Pherſon, as uſual, has here tranſ- " muted Saint Patrick into a Culdee, " and pretends that this poem is " called in the original, *Duan a Chul-* " *dich*, or, The Culdee's Poem, be- " cauſe it was addreſſed to one of " the firſt Chriſtian miſſionaries. We " here ſee that this Culdee, whoſe " name he was ſo fearful of diſ- " cloſing, was no other than Saint " Patrick." In this poem the fol-

" lowing

lowing line, *'Sa'n Albin ri linn non laodhach*, is, in the copy of this poem preſerved in the library of the Univerſity of Dublin, thus written, *An d' Almhuin le lin na laoch.* It is alſo written in the ſame manner in the Perth edition. Almhuin was the reſidence of Fin-mac-Cumhal in Leinſter, where this feaſt was given which excited the reſentment of Aldo and Maronnan. " The cor-
" rupt orthography of the word
" *Almhuin*, and alſo the ſimilitude in
" ſound between it and *Albin*, per-
" haps contributed to miſlead Mr.
" Mc. Pherſon, and induced him to
" conclude that by Almhuin, or Al-
" bein as it is ſometimes written,
" was meant Albion or Scotland,
" and not Fin's palace in Leinſter.
" This ſeems to be a common miſ-
" take

" take among the Highland ſong-
" ſters. But in this poem before us
" the error of Mr. Mc. Pherſon is
" leſs excuſeable, as the king of
" Lochlin is repreſented ſteering his
" fleet boldly to the coaſts of Ireland,
" and challenging the heroes of In-
" nisfail. The infidelity, therefore,
" of the Queen of Lochlin, could
" not be ſaid to have been the
" cauſe of ſpilling Scottiſh blood,
" ſince the ſcene of the whole tran-
" ſaction is laid in Ireland, and they
" are the heroes of Innisfail, or
" Ireland, who fall in battle." Mr.
Mc. Pherſon, in order to transfer the
credit of theſe poems to his own
country, every where repreſents Fin
and his heroes as Scots, not Iriſh.
The following ſtanza of the poem juſt
mentioned,

mentioned, is thus written in the Perth edition *:"

'Se labhair Fionn flath na 'm buadh,
'Se 'g amharch air Sluagh Innſe-fail,
Co dheangas Earragon ſa ghreis,
Mu'n leigeamaid leis ar tair ?

That is, " and thus ſpoke Fin, the " prince of victory, when he ſaw the " ſlaughter of the army of Innisfail, " Who will engage Erragon in the " fight, or ſhall we ſuffer him to bear " away with him our diſgrace?"— Thus, in the Scotch edition of this poem, is the hoſt of Fin here ſaid expreſsly to be the hoſt of Innisfail, that is, Ireland, not the hoſt of Albin.

Another of the poems is entitled " The

* Page 308.

" The Death of Oſcar, the ſon of Oſſian," and on this is formed the firſt book of Mr. Mc. Pherſon's Temora. The ſcene of this poem is at Gabhra, according to the following lines :

Oſcar agus Cairbre calma
Thraoghte iad uille'n cath Ghabhruidh.

That is, " Oſcar and the valiant " Cairbre both fell in the battle of " Gabhra." Gabhra is in the county of Meath, about half a mile from the hill of Tara. This battle was fought A. C. 296, according to the annals of Innisfallen. In this poem Mr. Mc. Pherſon " makes Cairbre call Oſcar, " Son of woody Morven," without " any authority from the original, " in order to ſupport his indefenſible " fiction, that Oſſian was of that " country."

" country." The ſubſequent ſtanza is in the Perth edition of this poem*, which puts out of queſtion the country of Oſcar the ſon of Oſſian:

Bas Oſcair a chradh mo chridh!
Triath fear Eirinn 's mor d' ar di;
Cait am facas riamh, re d' linn,
Fear co cruaidh ruit air chul lain?

That is, " the death of Oſcar grieved " my heart; our loſs is great in the " prince of the chiefs of Ireland. " When in my time have I ever ſeen " a man ſo valiant as you behind a " ſword?" And in another poem on this ſubject, publiſhed by Mr. Gillies of Perth, he is alſo called " the prince " of Ireland."

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* Page 321.

Bas Oſcair 's e chradh mo chridh',
Triath fir Eirinn ur-bhuidh':

That is, " the death of Oſcar grieved " my heart; the prince of the heroes " of fertile Ireland." And again, the Fians of Ireland are introduced bewailing his loſs:

Mo thruagihe ſinn, Oſcair fheil,
Ma ſcar thuſa 'nochd rium fein,
Guilidh mi am feaſd gu tiom,
Is caoinidh uile Fhian Eirinn.

That is, " Woe is me, O generous " Oſcar; if thou depart from me this " night, I ſhall lament as long as I " am in being, and all the Fians of " Ireland will be mournful *." Theſe extracts are ſufficient to prove, that, contrary to Mr. Mc. Pherſon's repreſentation,

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* A very correct copy of this poem is preſerved in the library of the Univerſity of Dublin.

ſentation, the heroes of Fin were Iriſh; that Oſcar the ſon of Oſſian was a prince of Ireland, and conſequently that Oſſian himſelf was a chief of Ireland; and, therefore, all thoſe arguments which Mr. Mc. Pherſon adduces from theſe poems againſt the Iriſh hiſtory, by repreſenting Oſſian and the Fians as Scots, and ſo ſtating theſe poems as evidences againſt the relations of the Iriſh annaliſts, who repreſent theſe warriors as Iriſh, are founded in error and in falſe quotation and tranſlation, as appears from the original poems publiſhed by the Scotch themſelves.

I ſhall now conclude this brief treatiſe with juſt obſerving, that ſince Ireland appears thus to have been ſo early known to the Greeks, and conſequently to the Phœnicians; ſince the

the language of the Iriſh and Phœnicians appears to have been the ſame; ſince the account which the Iriſh give of their deſcent from the moſt antient times, agrees with writers to whoſe works they could not have had acceſs; ſince the great antiquity, as they ſtate it, of their emigration from Aſia, agrees with the name which they give to the country from which they emigrated, and with the religion and the arts, which they introduced with them into Ireland; ſince their ſettlement on the Red Sea is confirmed by authors, of whom they muſt have been ignorant; ſince the Phœnicians, from whom they were deſcended, preſerved with ſuch a religious care the memory of paſt events; and ſince the Iriſh records all agree in the repreſentation of the primitive ſtate of civility in which

they deſcribe themſelves; though ſome over-zealous modern writers have, by pompous deſcriptions of a ſtate of magnificence which never exiſted, caſt a falſe glare over the whole: I ſay, ſince all theſe antient memorials agree in repreſenting the country in the ſame ſtate of primitive civility; the annaliſts detailing it; the bards celebrating it; the laws exactly fitting it; the weapons and ornaments, which are frequently found, correſponding with it; no doubt ought any longer to remain in the mind of any unprejudiced man of the great antiquity of the Phœnician ſettlement here, and the fidelity of the account given of it by the antient Iriſh writers. Being no antiquarian, nor converſant with the hiſtory of thoſe early ages, any further than is neceſſary as a foundation

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tion for that of the more important ones which ſucceed; being alſo unacquainted with the Iriſh language, and therefore knowing nothing of theſe records, but from tranſlations, and from converſations with thoſe who have read the originals, ſhould I, as I cannot otherwiſe hope, have committed any errors, I truſt they will be excuſed. A wiſh to do juſtice to the memory of a deceaſed friend; to vindicate the reputation of the antient memorials of my country; and to ſtimulate thoſe, who have more leiſure for ſuch purſuits, to inveſtigate them further, induced me thus to ſtep out of my path, and give this brief argument upon this ſubject.

FINIS.